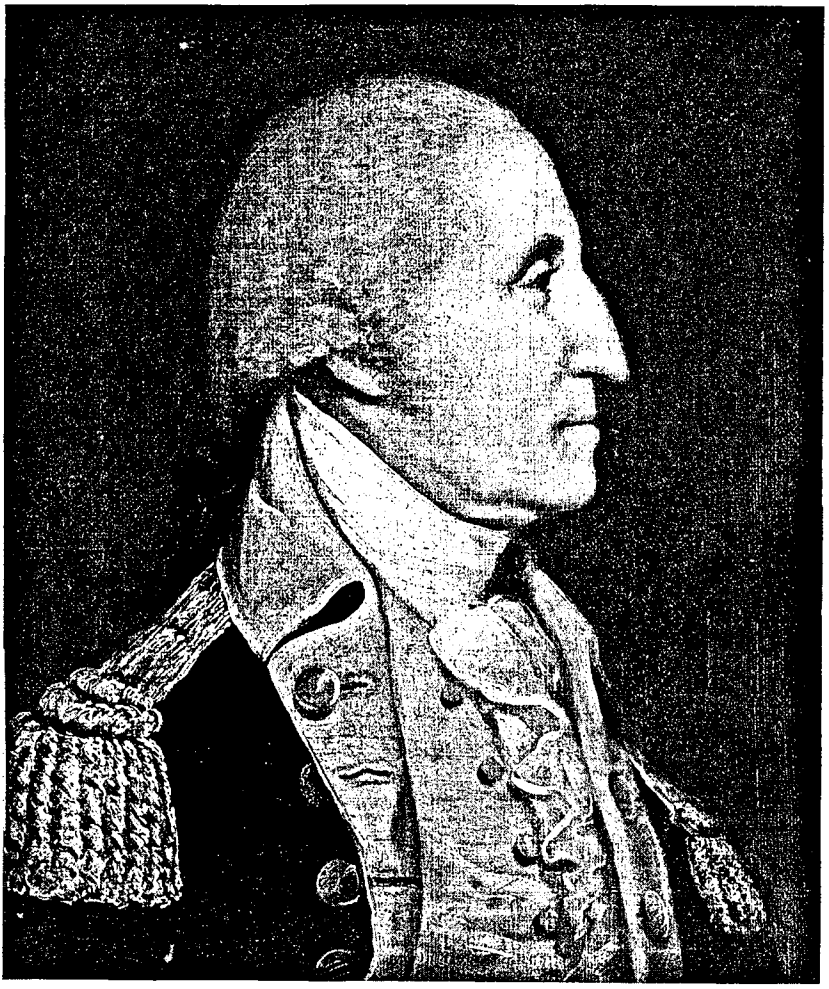

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" His Excellency " in the buff and blue of the Continental Army. Painted by Joseph Wright (1756-1793) when Washington was fifty-eight years old.

WILLIAM BELL CLARK

George Washington's Navy

Being An Account Of His Excellency's Fleet In New England Waters

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Preface

THERE HAS BEEN inaccuracy and inadequacy in the attempts to date to tell the story of George Washington's role in the creation of an American navy. His part in launching the Colonies upon aggressive naval warfare is a story deserving complete portrayal. This I have tried to do, from the inception of his navy in New England waters to the final cruise of the last of his little armed schooners, with all the trials, tribulations, failures and successes which ran through its checkered history.

Washington's navy antedated that of the Continent by many weeks. Before the Continental Congress reconvened in Philadelphia on September 13, 1775, his first vessel had taken a prize and her crew had staged a mutiny. When, a month later, Congress authorized two armed vessels as the beginning of its navy, Washington had five more schooners arming. By the time the first Continental fleet sailed from the Delaware on February 17, 1776, his Excellency's navy had twenty-nine prizes, and the columns of colonial newspapers were filled with the exploits of his captains. Until John Paul Jones cruised off Nova Scotia, in the fall of 1776, naval warfare north of Cape Cod had been waged only by Washington's armed schooners, and such few privateers as Massachusetts and New Hampshire had commissioned to that time.

Some may cavil at my application of the term "navy" to Washington's fleet. In answer I can give no better authority than Colonel John Glover, who referred to William Bartlett, at Beverly, Massa-

chusetts, as " agent for the Navey," and who sold Bartlett at various times large footages of boards " for ye Navey." If Glover, who spent much time in its formation, then considered it a navy, certainly the term is acceptable today.

Appreciating the importance of harrassing the British by sea as well as by land, and recognizing the impotency of the Continental navy, Washington clung to the control of his small naval force for months after the scene of the military campaign had changed from Boston to New York. When he gave it up, owing to Congressional pressure as well as distance from its base of operations, his little fleet continued to function despite administration of a Continental agent who was more interested in forcing commissions from Washington's deposed agents than in intelligent direction of the schooners. The wrangles between these agents over prizes and prize money involved his Excellency even during the trying period when the Howes were driving the Continental army from Long Island to White Plains. Of these quarrels, which ended only after commissioners appointed by the Marine Committee of Congress ironed out the muddle, nothing has ever been told. It is a sordid story of politics and avarice, humorous at times, too, but certainly no way to fight a war.

I have permitted Washington, his aides, agents and captains, as well as John Bradford, the Continental agent, to speak for themselves. I am sure they knew what they were saying and doing, and need no " creative " interpretation of their words, deeds or thoughts. Many of the facts herein given are at complete variance with such accounts as have previously passed current. If septuagenarian John Adams' faulty memory postulated Washington as so spineless that he was unwilling to act upon his own initiative and arm vessels without consent of Congress, why should that fable be perpetuated? When an early historian identified the first prize brought in by one of his Excellency's cruisers as a British transport, why should every writer since then repeat that error? When James Warren, writing in September, 1775, attributed a mutiny to a company of riflemen, how extraordinary it seems that no historian has discovered that it was not only the riflemen who got out of hand, but the crew of Washington's first armed vessel.

Such inaccuracies "fouled up" the history of his Excellency's navy from the very beginning. Traditions, sectional historians and eulogistic biographers simply cry aloud to be contradicted. In doing so, it has been necessary to nail down the truth with adequate references. Such notes are for those who doubt, or, as I do, believe that history needs factual proof; an anchor to windward to offset mounting imagination.

My particular appreciation is belatedly expressed to two ladies, now deceased, whose co-operation several years ago made available much which had been hidden regarding the early history of his Excellency's navy. Miss Alice G. Lapham, late curator of the Beverly Historical Society, painstakingly transcribed for me the papers of William Bartlett, a veritable gold mine of valuable material. Miss Hannah Tutt, late secretary of the Marblehead Historical Society, supplied me with numerous extracts from John Glover's "Colony Ledger," a volume containing pages of accounts relating to the armed schooners. To Mr. Colin Campbell, whose researches into the history of the Seventy-first Highland regiment provided me with much fresh material about the capture of the Scotch transports, I am deeply indebted. Acknowledgments also are made to Dr. St. L. Sioussat, retired, former chief of the manuscript division of the Library of Congress; Mr. Ernest S. Dodge, Director, and Mr Charles H. P. Copeland, former curator of maritime history of the Peabody Museum of Salem; Mr. Stephen T. Riley, Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Mr. Nicholas B. Wainwright, Research Librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Henry W. Howell, Jr., Librarian of the Frick Art Reference Library; and those anonymous gentlemen who searched out for me in the Massachusetts Archives the material which arrived under the letterhead of the Secretary of the Commonwealth. Lieutenant Commander Marion V. Brewington USNR (ret.), now Assistant Director of the Peabody Museum, read the manuscript and saved me from many pitfalls. Responsibility for the text, however, rests upon my own shoulders.

WILLIAM BELL CLARK

Brevard, North Carolina

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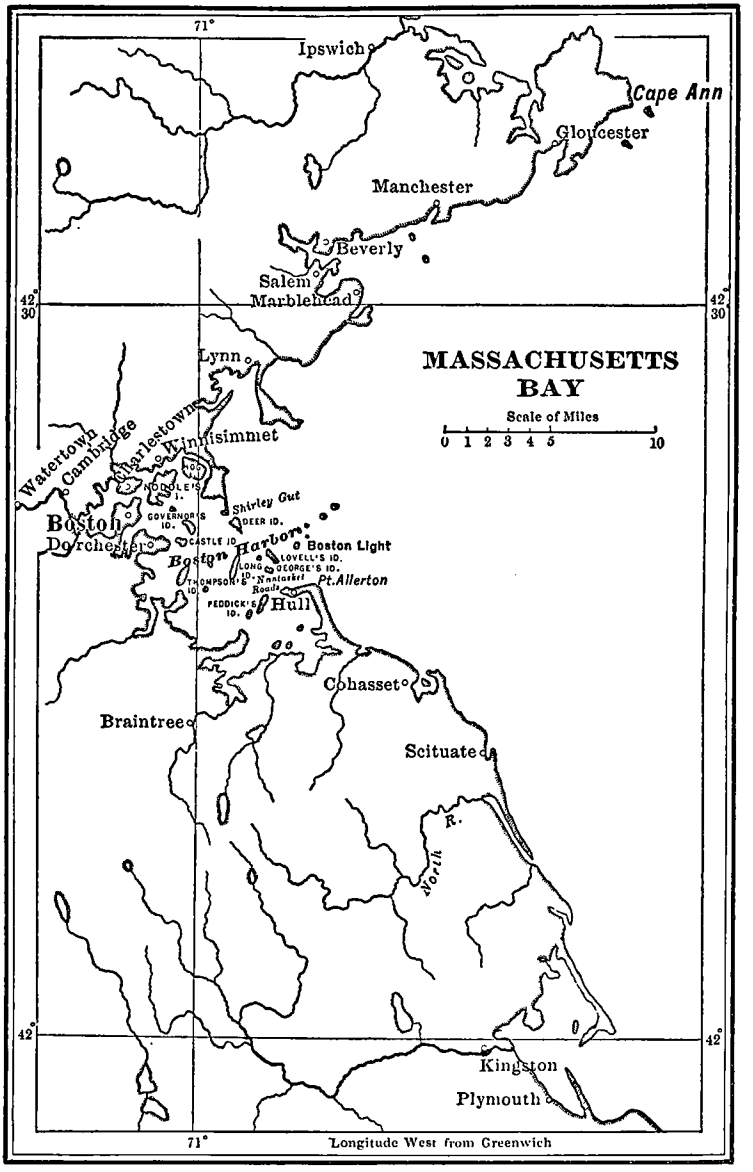
Prelude 1775

It was August in New England.

Within the narrow confines of Boston, save for a precarious foothold across the Charles River (won so bloodily two months earlier) lay the British army, some six thousand strong. Surrounding Boston to north and west and south—from Chelsea in a great arc to Dorchester Neck—a nondescript Continental army, double the size of the enemy, in homespun and hunting shirt, sat upon the hills and in the passes and watched and skirmished and drilled and waited. Yet seaward, unhampered save by audacious whaleboat crews who drove the cattle off the islands in the harbor and twice had burned the lighthouse, the Redcoats had access to reinforcements, supplies and provisions. That seige, begun with startling rapidity even as echoes of musketry and rifle fire had receded from Lexington and Concord in April, was settling down in grim earnest. Regiments from New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut had joined their Massachusetts brethren to mingle their gore on Bunker Hill. Riflemen from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia had crossed four colonies to reinforce the now well-fortified lines. And a month before, his Excellency, George Washington, Commander in Chief of the army by unanimous choice of the Continental Congress, had arrived at headquarters in Cambridge and taken command.


71°
Ipswich
Cape Ann
Gloucester
Manchester
Beverly
Salem
Marblehead
42° 30'
Lynn
MASSACHUSETTS BAY
Scale of Miles
0 1 2 3 4 5 10
Charlestown
Watertown
Cambridge
Winnisimmet
Boston
Dorchester
Shirley Gut
DEER ID.
Boston Harbor
Boston Light
LOVELL'S ID.
GEORGE'S ID.
Nantasket Road
Pt. Allerton
Hull
Cohasset
Braintree
Scituate
North R.
42°
Kingston
Plymouth
71°
Longitude West from Greenwich

CHAPTER ONE

The Inglorious Career of the "Hannah"

GENERAL WASHINGTON PROVIDED the idea—an armed vessel to intercept some of the richly laden transports supplying the beleaguered British in Boston. "A fortunate capture of an ordnance ship," he commented wistfully, "would give new life to the camp, and an immediate turn to the issue of this campaign."

John Glover, merchant of Marblehead, but presently colonel of the Massachusetts marine regiment, provided the vessel, at "one Dollar pr Ton pr Month"—his own little seventy-eight-ton coastwise schooner *Hannah,* then moored at a Beverly wharf.

And Nicholson Broughton, being a "Man of some property and note in the said Town" of Marblehead, and a seaman to boot, was presented by Glover as the most fit of all his captains to command her. Broughton, who professed having "braved, with zeal for liberty and his Country's Safety, the frowns & threats of the Merciless Executioners of Unrighteous Laws," was burning eagerly to venture "on a more open Warfare to assert the principles of freedom."

This doughty warrior's desire to sally forth by sea against his country's "unnatural Enemies" impressed his Excellency. Hence, as Colonel Glover recorded it, Broughton was "appointed to ye Command of ye first Armd Vessell, fitted out in ye Service of ye United States." Washington's project definitely was evolved prior to August 24, 1775—for upon that date the *Hannah* went into Continental employ.[1]

To argue that someone had to suggest to Washington the efficacy of arming vessels, manning them with soldiers and sending them forth to intercept the Boston-bound ships is to insult his Excellency's intelligence. Any observer with an iota of sense, seeing the wood and provision vessels from Nova Scotia slipping in through Pudding Gut Channel, and the transports from England threading the narrow main passage upwards from Georges Island, would have remarked, as did the president of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress in July, "a few armed vessels, I am abundantly convinced, would produce great consequences." One Jeremiah O'Brien of Machias, about 250 miles north of Boston, had demonstrated in June the vulnerability of the enemy supply line even when guarded by one of his Majesty's tenders. Two wood sloops and the armed schooner *Margaretta* seized by that daring Irishman had dispelled any belief that the British navy could prevent commerce raiding. All this Washington knew. Likewise, he had reconnoitred "the Sea Coast East of Boston Harbour" to see for himself. Nobody needed to suggest to him a course, which was as plain as the rather long nose on his Excellency's aristocratic face.[2]

To man the *Hannah*, Washington proposed a requisition upon Glover's regiment, which boasted many mariners claiming Marblehead as home. He fondly believed that soldiers "who had been bred to the sea," could be molded quickly into an efficient crew. An experienced sailing master, a master's mate and four seamen were hired at Beverly. Portledge charges covering their wages began August 24.[3] They would form a nucleus for a crew to number fifty men including officers. Washington promised officers and men, in addition to Continental pay, a distribution among themselves of a third of the value of the cargo of every enemy vessel taken, military and naval stores only excepted. These latter, with vessel and apparel, he wished reserved for the public service. There would be no prize money from a recapture, but he would recommend to the owners a suitable compensation to those who retook her.

As "strongest proof of his good opinion of the schooner," Colonel Glover was willing to venture "his brother and his favourite son on board of her." The colonel had two brothers—Jonathan, a

year older, and Daniel, a year younger—both seafaring men in their youth, and living in Marblehead, where Jonathan was a merchant and Daniel, a blockmaker. His reference, however, was to his brother-in-law, Richard James, who was sailing master of the *Hannah*. The favorite son was John Glover, Jr., aged twenty, a lieutenant in his father's regiment. Young John was appointed first lieutenant. The other subaltern was John Devereaux, also a lieutenant in the Marblehead regiment, and husband of Broughton's daughter Mary.

The regiment was tapped for volunteers. Broughton's company yielded but a dozen of the thirty-six privates selected. The incentive of prize money simplified recruiting efforts. When assembled, the crew marched off, the lieutenants distinguishable from the men only by jaunty green cockades in their tri-cornered hats.[4] On August 24 this "Company of Volunteers arrived from Cambridge for privateering," where, according to a Marblehead chronicler, "they were to go on board Col. Glover's schooner." The crew went to Marblehead although the *Hannah* was at Beverly, because Marblehead men considered it a right and privilege to visit their families before reporting for new duty. As one of Washington's staff put it succinctly, "The Marblehead gentry will go home." He was kinder than a Salem diarist, who wrote of them not as "gentry," but as "fishermen gone from Marblehead—good riddance!"

Earlier in the summer the *Hannah* had been lying alongside Elbridge Gerry's wharf in Marblehead. In August she sailed round to Beverly where she would be less exposed to danger than in Marblehead's unprotected and open harbor. The schooner had been armed and rigged before her crew straggled in. Carpenters had cut gunports, two to a side, in her bulwarks, and had strengthened her planking. Four 4-pounders with carriages had been supplied from the Glover warehouse, along with a few swivels, a number of rounds of ammunition, and the necessary gunner's stores. Her customary sails—main, fore and jib—had been supplemented with topsails and a flying jib.[5]

At Cambridge Washington's secretary, Colonel Joseph Reed, decided that rations authorized for the army were not suitable for

the naval service. The men besieging Boston enjoyed a menu embracing a daily diet of milk (when obtainable) and fresh beef or fresh pork. "As the nature of the Land and Sea Force is very different," Reed proposed a month's supply of provisions for the *Hannah*, which included numerous substitutes—salt beef for fresh, ship's bread for flour, potatoes for peas and beans, and rum instead of spruce beer. For the officers a supplemental list embraced coffee, chocolate, sugar and high proof West India rum.[6]

Final instructions were drafted by Reed and signed in the fine flowing signature of the Commander in Chief: "Given under my hand at Head Quarters, Cambridge, this second day of September, 1775." They provided a clear definition of the objectives of the cruise: "You are to proceed as Commander of S^d^ Schooner, immediately on a Cruize against such Vessels as may be found on the High Seas or elsewhere bound inwards or outwards to or from Boston in the Service of the ministerial Army & to take & seize all such Vessels laden with Soldiers, Arms, Ammunition or Provisions for or from s^d^ Army or which you may have good Reason to suspect are in such Service—"

There would be no indiscriminate taking of any vessel flying the English flag. The intent was "to cut off the supplies" of the British army. His Excellency carried out the same little conceit then existing everywhere. Resistance was not against good King George (God bless him!), but against his evil ministers. The orders forbade engaging enemy armed vessels regardless of strength. The design of the enterprise could well be defeated by running into unnecessary conflicts. The captain was to be careful and frugal with his ammunition. He was to search captured vessels for letters or papers which might discover enemy designs. These were to be forwarded with the prizemaster into the safest port near camp, and his Excellency notified. Prisoners were to be treated with kindness and humanity, and allowed to retain their private property. They should, when landed, be marched under guard to headquarters.

Not being omniscient, George Washington had no suspicion that Nicholson Broughton was not the ideal choice to follow the orders so precisely drafted; had no hint that the captain was a pretentious,

a contentious and an acquisitive man. Broughton had fulminated at British "Encroachments on the Rights and Liberties" of the colonies, and had boasted of willingness to risk, "with chearfulness, his little property, his credit and person in the Common Cause." That he had no small opinion of himself can be gathered from his own words. As a member of the Marblehead Committee of Inspection, which was, he pointed out, "a Post of difficulty and hazard," he had "exerted himself in suppressing disaffection, in promoting a hearty obedience to the recommendations of Congress, and to all Conventions, and public-spirited proposals, in encouraging the faint-hearted, and in collecting the sometimes scattered Spirits of his Fellow Citizens to Useful Operations."

But his fifty-first birthday was less than two weeks off, and age could not help but temper that patriotic and somewhat bombastic ardor. Behold him, therefore, departing from Cambridge, a militant, middle-aged family man, bred to the sea and now returning to his vocation, but cast in a new role. Nevertheless, he still retained his Yankee avarice, dogmatic views and his own interpretation of what he was supposed to do. Thus, he was on his way to Beverly very conscious of a mission which might make history.

Long years before John Glover had christened his schooner in honor of his beloved wife. No one considered it incongruous that a vessel of war should sally forth with a name reminiscent of petticoats and paduasoys rather than cartridges and cutlasses. Hence, *Hannah* she remained, and under that marital rather than martial title Broughton sailed her out of Beverly harbor at ten o'clock on the morning of September 5.[7]

The captain steered southeasterly, with Halfway Rock well to starboard and, in the late afternoon, espied two ships of war. They stood toward him, and he fled northward. By twilight he was close in with Cape Ann. The enemy, having no liking for unfamiliar waters after dark, abandoned pursuit. One of them hovered off Eastern Point through the night, however, and next morning chased him into Gloucester harbor.[8]

About sunset Broughton ventured forth anew; found the coast clear and stood southward. At daybreak, discovering a large ship under his lee quarter, he made sail away from her. There was no

pursuit, so he put about. As the *Hannah* closed the distance, he perceived she was unarmed. Broughton hailed, asking her name and where she came from. She was the ship *Unity*, Flagg, master, was the reply, from Portsmouth and bound to Boston.

"I told him he must bear away and go into Cape Ann," Broughton reported, "but being very loath, I told him if he did not I should fire on her. On that she bore away."

Visions of prize money vanished when the boarding officer returned. The *Unity*, of 260 tons burden, was the property of John Langdon of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, noted patriot and a delegate to the Continental Congress. She had sailed for the West Indies with a cargo of fish, beef and lumber, and had been taken by his Majesty's ship *Lively*. A midshipman and six seamen had been put on board to carry her into Boston. She was a recapture, and Broughton had only the possibility of a reward for himself and crew. He removed the English prizemaster and seamen to the *Hannah*, permitting Captain Flagg to sail the *Unity* into Cape Ann harbor. He followed her in, turned his prisoners over to the Gloucester Committee of Safety, and wrote to Washington: "Have sent the Captain of the ship we took for your Excellency's examination, and I shall proceed immediately in the further execution of your Excellency's orders."

The stay at Gloucester continued, however. Broughton excused it because his first lieutenant had been wounded accidentally, the circumstances of which he failed to disclose. As this officer was young Glover, and as there was no further reference to the accident, the wound must have been superficial; it seems, rather, a pretext to conceal the real reason for delay.

Broughton was of the opinion that the *Unity* had been deliberately sent to loiter off Boston harbor so the British could take her. This premise required specious reasoning, but with a possible share in one-third of her cargo as a spur, he was willing to point the finger of suspicion upon the intention of the owner, and to seek evidence to support his contention. The initial step had been to order the *Unity*'s master to headquarters for interrogation. The officer who first boarded the *Unity* had reported treatment by Flagg which, according to Broughton, "was such as I would rather have

expected from a polite enemy than a friend to our cause as Americans." Should Flagg be inimical to the cause, investigation at Cambridge would ferret it out. The second step was to examine the cargo. His findings and conclusions were forwarded to Washington on September 9:

> I would acquaint your Excellency that there is on board said ship a much greater quantity of naval stores than is customary to export from our ports. There is likewise, as I understand, some considerable quantity of provisions, much more in my opinion, than is necessary for a ship's crew. I would likewise inform your Excellency that the Captain, contrary to the resolves of our General Assembly, has taken on board a considerable quantity of new fish [freshly salted cod or halibut]. And from these, and many other circumstances, I conclude that Captain Flagg was designed for the Port of Boston instead of any of the West India Islands.[9]

The British prize crew and Captain Flagg arrived at Cambridge, where the former were "committed to the Care of the Main-Guard," and the latter questioned and given his liberty. Broughton's second letter arrived, was read and dismissed as too preposterous to warrant reply. Upon application of John Langdon's agent, Washington ordered the *Unity* released, and presumed the matter closed, save that he would recommend the *Hannah*'s crew to the owner for suitable "notice and compensation."

The enlisted men in the *Hannah*'s complement had assumed the *Unity* to be a transport, and visioned plenty of prize money jingling in their pockets. Broughton, by examining ship and cargo so minutely, had strengthened this idea. In signing the shipping articles before the cruise began, the hands had given scant, if any, attention to the distinction between a legitimate prize and a recapture.

This explains the wave of resentment which swept the crew when Langdon's agent reached Gloucester with the order of release. Joseph Searle, a private in Broughton's own company, headed a delegation to protest against the return of the *Unity* to her owner. When Searle's objections became too vehement and too violent, he was placed under arrest. What had begun as a noisy remonstrance flared into open mutiny. A dozen or more men rushed to the help of their shipmate, seeking to wrest him from the clutches

of the warrant officers. When they, too, were ordered under guard, someone broke into the arms chest and distributed weapons. Whereupon the rest of the crew spilled across the deck, tearing Searle away from his captors, and daring Broughton and his officers to do their worst.

The agitated Gloucester Committee of Safety dispatched an express to headquarters, begging help. Washington sent a detachment to seize the mutineers. Disorder ceased when they arrived. Searle and thirty-five others were disarmed and marched off for camp. A gentleman writing from Cambridge on September 14 reported, "The Rascals are brought down here, and I hope they will meet their deserts." That same sentiment was echoed by his Excellency in a letter to John Langdon recommending a reward for the retaking of the *Unity* to Broughton and his officers. "I should have done the same thing in behalf of the Men," he added, "but for their exceeding ill behaviour upon that occasion . . . and I hope to bestow a reward of a different kind upon them for their Mutinous behaviour."

The thirty-six were tried by a general court-martial on September 22 for "Mutiny, Riot and Disobedience of orders." All were found "severally guilty of the Crimes wherewith they are accused." The court imposed varying sentences. Searle, as ringleader, was sentenced to "thirty-nine lashes upon his bare back and to be drum'd out of the Army." Thirteen were to be given twenty lashes apiece and were also to be drummed out. The remaining twenty-two were each fined twenty shillings. Three of the latter, being considered "proper objects of mercy," had their fines remitted by his Excellency.

Sentences were to be executed at guard mount the following morning. A private in Colonel James Frye's Massachusetts regiment, in high anticipation, marched with his comrades to the spot to witness a wholesale flogging. Alas! To his disappointment, while he had heard that twelve Marblehead men were to receive twenty lashes each, "only one was whipped." Washington had relented, and the sentence upon Searle alone was executed. Whether or not the others were ordered back to the *Hannah* remains a question. It is unlikely, however, for Broughton lay unmanned at Gloucester for a week.[10]

Washington formed then an aversion to his "rascally privateersmen," which endured as long as soldiers were used to man his vessels. That after his initial experience he continued his naval effort indicates how important he considered it to the success of the campaign. Any less determined commander would have written "finis" to the experiment. Instead, Washington ordered more men from the Marblehead regiment to restore the *Hannah*'s crew to required strength.

Broughton went to sea again toward the end of September. His forays were not venturesome. Come nightfall, he would put back into Marblehead harbor and give his men shore leave. Providing all hands with comfortable feather-beds each night was not conducive to much cruising. The *Hannah* seldom ventured very far to windward of Baker's Island, an area into which Boston-bound vessels could stray only through bad seamanship. When this practice came to his Excellency's ears peremptory orders were issued. If Broughton found himself too closely watched at Marblehead and Cape Ann, he should "run out in the night and cruise farther off." [11]

The captain sallied seaward on the night of October 6. By dawn, some ten nautical miles northeast of Boston, he sighted a distant vessel and set off in pursuit. His quarry was a small transport coming from Newfoundland. While the *Hannah* was a better sailer, the transport was too near Nantasket road to be overtaken. At long range, Broughton fired four shots at her, tacked and stood northward. The British naval commander in Boston, Vice Admiral Samuel Graves, immediately ordered his Majesty's sloop *Nautilus*, of sixteen guns, Captain John Collins, to sea "in quest of the Rebels."

On October 10 Broughton was coming in through the passage between Baker's and Little Misery islands. By nightfall, his Excellency's order notwithstanding, he would be safe in Marblehead harbor and ashore for one of Sarah Broughton's boiled New England dinners. A hail from the masthead reported a sail astern. One look and the captain abandoned thoughts of reaching Marblehead that night. He would be lucky if he could make Beverly. The distant vessel was a British cruiser, and she was coming up fast to cut

him off from the land. By then he was clear of Little Misery. Pointing the *Hannah*'s bow due westward, he shook out every stitch of her canvas.

The pursuer was the *Nautilus,* which, when sighted from the *Hannah,* was about five miles east by south of Halfway Rock, running north under easy sail. Captain Collins veered slightly westward and stood directly for the wide entrance of Beverly harbor. The two vessels were converging upon the same spot. Seeing no chance to win the race, Broughton swung the *Hannah* hard to starboard and ran her upon a sand bar in Beverly Cove, some half mile east of the passage he had been unable to reach.

The *Nautilus* eased in as near as she dared, getting within grape-shot range. At her first discharge, the schooner's crew splashed ashore through the shallows. Thinking to set her on fire, Collins ordered out his boats loaded with combustibles. But he reckoned without the ebb tide. By the time the boats were ready, the *Hannah* lay high and dry on a broad expanse of mud flats. "Seeing a Number of Rebels Assembled about her, getting things out of her," the British captain opened up with ball.

Beverly nestled beyond the Cove; in fact the church steeple, just a half mile to the northwest, was visible from the *Nautilus.* While it was not Collins' intention to bombard the town, it lay in the line of fire. Consequently, an occasional cannon ball overshot the schooner and smacked into the village. One crashed into Thomas Stephens' chaise-house, reducing the chaise in which he took such pride to kindling wood. Another struck a chimney across the street, scattering bricks in every direction. Stephens grabbed his musket and legged it for the water front. So did Colonel Henry Herrick of the Beverly Committee of Correspondence, arrayed in full military regalia of an earlier war. While there was panic among women and children, one housewife, preparing bread for the oven, refused to leave her kitchen before she had set the dough. Even then she climbed a wall to survey the action until a cannon ball plumped at her feet and sent her scurrying to safety.

The men of Beverly reached the Cove and joined Broughton and his crew in stripping the *Hannah.* Her 4-pounders were carried ashore along with every bit of loose gear, ammunition and pro-

visions. Then they sought "different Stations of Security," as Collins described the way they took shelter, and began a musketry fire. Several swivels were carted down to the beach and added their heavier tone to the rattle of rifles.

Across the harbor mouth some two hundred or more men trundled field pieces out on Salem Neck. The *Nautilus* got in the first shot. It landed among a party gathered on a hill, but no one was hurt. "I was myself present," wrote a diarist proudly, describing how the Salem men "began to play their 4 lb guns & after making 8 or 10 shots apiece they levelled them well." While loading, as another diarist recorded, one David Newall, had his hand "blowed off."

The canon fire from Salem Neck was an unpleasant surprise to Collins. His first shot in that direction had been to disperse the crowd of rebels on the hilltop, with no idea that heavy guns could be brought to bear on him. The Salem cannoneers had selected stations "so well chosen that I could not see them with my Glass," said he, "and at such a distance as to put it out of my power to return the Complement with the effect I could have wished." He exchanged a few shots. As he found this "to no purpose" and had not been able to destroy the *Hannah* with gunfire, he decided to move out of what was becoming a most unpleasant situation. The tide was still ebbing and the wind continued out of the southwest, drifting him toward the mudbank. He tried a spring on the cable to work her eastward. It parted. They got out another, which snapped in heaving, and the *Nautilus* drove hard and fast aground.

With the sloop careened none of her guns could be brought to bear. From the Beverly side, marksmen concealed behind rocks made it hazardous for officer or man to show a head above the bulwarks. Over on Salem Neck, the volunteer artillerymen plied their pieces with more and more effect. "For 4 hours we fired upon her constantly & 'tis supposed y^{t} she rec^{d} some of our shot," wrote one of them. Indeed she did! And had the Salem gunners but depressed their muzzles, they might have destroyed her. "'Tis very lucky they fired so high," Collins reported. At that, damage to the *Nautilus* was severe. Twenty balls went through her hull or

hammocks they had lashed topside. One gun was dismounted and a swivel split in two. A seaman lost his leg and another was wounded in the side. The sloop had a great many shot through rigging and sails. The spritsail-topsail yard was shot away in the slings and both yard and sails went by the board. And the carpenter reported that he suspected the head of the mainmast was sprung.

In the October twilight at Beverly Cove they talked of boarding, but the rising tide prevented the attempt. Collins took advantage of darkness and the tidal change. His crew " Carried out a Stream Anchor to heave ye Ship of[f] as the Tide flowed," and so anxious were they to get away that they cut the cable and left the best bower anchor behind. It was half past seven o'clock when the battered *Nautilus* disappeared in the night, heading forlornly for Boston.

Damage from enemy fire to the *Hannah* was " very little if any." Quite a reflection that upon the accuracy of British gunnery at grapeshot range! The schooner had been pretty well strained in striking bottom. There was a minor casualty. Somehow, when they abandoned her as the *Nautilus* opened fire, Broughton fell overboard, and caught a bad cold! [12]

CHAPTER TWO

His Excellency Expands His Naval Program

WHAT NICHOLSON BROUGHTON had failed to do—take an enemy transport or provision vessel—the winds of chance demonstrated could be done. Even while the *Hannah* had lain idle at Gloucester and September had drawn to a close, a strong southwest breeze wafted the schooner *Industry* towards Marblehead. She was from New Providence, in the Bahamas, and carried a cargo of turtle and pineapple "designed for the delicate palates" of the British troops in Boston. Armed men boarded and carried her around to Salem, preventing the enemy "scoundrels from enjoying and feasting on callipee, callipack and a desert of pine apples." Another strong breeze about the same time carried the brigantine *Dolphin* close in to Cape Ann. Gloucester fisherman climbed aboard and found a cargo of cattle, sheep and oatmeal, a present from the Tory merchants in Quebec "to the sick and wounded in Boston."

Committees of Safety took charge of the *Industry* and *Dolphin*, and asked Washington for instructions. As neither was a Continental prize, Washington advised that disposition of vessels and cargoes should be vested in the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. That body on September 29 appointed a committee to confer with him "on the expediency of fitting out Armed Vessels." Colonel Joseph Reed answered the committee. His Excellency had directed that three vessels be equipped "to intercept the transports daily arriving at Boston with provisions, &c." One of these, the *Hannah*, was already in service. The others might well be the *Industry* and the *Dolphin* if the Provincial Congress would signify "that these

vessels are to be at the direction of the general, or such as he shall appoint."

Anticipating a favorable reply, Washington dispatched Colonel John Glover to Marblehead to be on hand to arm the vessels without delay. Twenty-four hours later the Provincial Congress announced that it would sell the two vessels to the Continent, turning them over to Washington at the appraised value. Also, the Congress forwarded a proposal from the Committee of Safety of Newburyport that a vessel it had armed and manned be taken into Continental service.

Both propositions Washington turned down flatly. He told the Provincial Congress that "it is his purpose to have some Armed Vessels fitted out immediately, on the pay of the Continent, for the purpose of cruising along the Sea-Coast," and that he intended "to furnish men for this business from the Army, as he had a sufficient number qualified therefor." Hence, he declined taking the Newburyport vessel. As to the *Industry* and the *Dolphin*, the terms were such that he "does not choose to meddle with either." [1]

Purchasing vessels from the Provincial Congress would require an outlay of money, which Washington's war chest would not bear, or a commitment to pay, which the Continental Congress might not accept. The *Hannah* had been hired and Glover guaranteed reimbursement if she were lost. Washington, therefore, intended to proceed in similar manner with others. He sent directions to Glover to engage two vessels, "the most suitable for our purpose, upon the best terms you can." They should be prime sailers, and the colonel should "put them in the best order possible and lose no time." As Glover might have more on his hands than he could cope with, Washington sent Stephen Moylan, Muster Master General of the army, to Marblehead to assist.

Moylan, thirty-eight years old, and a rugged Irish-American, had been a merchant-shipowner in Philadelphia before the war. He was thoroughly familiar with the ways and wiles of blacksmiths, blockmakers, ship carpenters and joiners, and a shrewd buyer in chandlery shops and sail lofts. Associating him with the forty-three-year-old Glover was a wise move, as the latter, having many friends and relatives in the Marblehead area, might prove softhearted in dealing with kith and kin.[2]

Washington's instructions were carried to Marblehead by Moylan on October 5. Two vessels to be engaged were to be appraised by "indifferent persons," and hired at a reasonable rate. Cannon and swivels were to be borrowed or purchased on the cheapest terms. As soon as sizes and number of cannon were determined, directions for making cartridges and providing ammunition, and a list of what would be wanted was to be sent to headquarters. Glover and Moylan were authorized to nominate suitable agents at Cape Ann, Marblehead, or other places where prizes might be sent in. Instructions to such agents would be supplied later, but terms should be settled and only persons "of approved character and known substance," selected. In conclusion, Washington specified, "As soon as either of the vessels are in such forwardness as to be ready to sail in a few days, you are to send notice to Head-Quarters, that the officers and men may march down."

Upon the day following this directive, his Excellency for the first time advised the Continental Congress at Philadelphia of what was afoot. Another British provision vessel had blundered into patriot hands—this one at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. She was laden with 1,900 barrels of flour. He had directed the flour brought to Cambridge for the use of the army, reserving settlement of any claims to the decision of Congress. This compelled him, he pointed out on October 5, to request a decision as to "the property and disposal" of such vessels and cargoes as were supplying the enemy.

"I am the more induced to request this determination may be speedy," he explained, "as I have directed three vessels to be equipped in order to cut off the supplies; and from the number of vessels hourly arriving, it may become an object of some importance . . . I hope my plan, as well as the execution, will be favoured with the approbation of Congress."

Without awaiting such approbation, his Excellency decided to arm two vessels at Plymouth. This sheltered port, as far south of the entrance to Boston harbor as Gloucester was to the north, was ideal for the operation of small cruisers, east to Cape Cod and over the entire lower bay area. His plan, noised about before an announcement, pleased the people along the coast, who "expected to derive no small advantage from it." [3] In fact, two seafaring gentlemen, anticipating his interest in Plymouth as a base, had arrived at

headquarters. The first, Daniel Adams, a Plymouth mariner, owned a schooner in that port. With a few minor alterations his vessel, he assured Washington, would be ideal for a cruiser. He would willingly hire her out at the going rate, and aspired to sail in her, although not necessarily in command. Washington was noncommittal, but agreed to send someone down to inspect her.

The second visitor was Captain Sion Martindale of the Bristol-Newport company of Colonel Thomas Church's Rhode Island regiment. A seaman of long experience and reputation, Martindale had sailed in some of the finest ships owned by merchants of Newport and Providence, and had about him an inspiring air of confidence. He had no vessel to hire, but he knew of an admirable one at Plymouth, which he wished to command. She was large enough to mount twelve carriage guns and could carry from sixteen to twenty swivels. Martindale even suggested a name for her. His eloquence, assurance and past record influenced Washington to immediate action. He not only issued sailing instructions to this Rhode Island captain on October 8; he obligingly inserted in them the suggested name, "Schooner Eagle."

His Excellency sent the captain to General Nathanael Greene, commanding the brigade containing the Rhode Island regiments. In general orders on October 10 Greene directed that "The Officers of the Rhoade Island Forces are Requested to Furnish Cap[t]. Martingale [*sic*] with a Party for a Sea Expedition if a Sufficient Number cant be got out of the three Regiments the Colonels officers of the other Regiments in General Green[e]s Brigade are Desir'd to Suply the Remainder." Joseph Reed, while enchanted by Martindale's personality, feared that being used to vessels where nothing was wanting, the captain might not make suitable allowance for the meagre resources of the Continent.[4]

To carry out at Plymouth the role Moylan and Glover were filling to the northward, Washington selected young Ephraim Bowen, Jr., a lieutenant in the Second Rhode Island regiment. Bowen was to inquire into the sailing qualities of Daniel Adams' schooner, and hire her if she proved satisfactory. Otherwise he should seek something better. Whichever vessel he selected should be properly appraised. Carriage guns and swivels were to be borrowed or bought. Enroute, Bowen was to stop at Watertown and ask the

president of the Massachusetts General Court, James Warren, a native of Plymouth, to recommend a proper person for agent. On October 14 Bowen was on his way in a sulky, whose hire for the succeeding thirty-five days would be the number one item on his expense account.[5]

Word came from Moylan and Glover that two schooners had been hired at Beverly; one would be armed and ready for sea within a week; the other, in ten days. While Colonel Glover had every confidence in the *Hannah*, they also had taken up a third schooner, with " better fame for sailing," to replace her. This latter vessel would " take in the *Hannah*'s company and stores in twelve or fourteen days." Their letter arrived in Cambridge a few hours before Washington's naval strategy was materially altered.

An express from Philadelphia rode into camp on the morning of October 11 with a letter from John Hancock, president of the Continental Congress. Dated October 5, it advised that two north country brigs, unarmed, had sailed from England in August, loaded with six thousand stand of arms and a large quantity of powder and other stores for the British garrison in Quebec. The brigs were not under convoy, and should be intercepted. Washington was directed to apply to Massachusetts for two armed vessels, and send them out to capture these rich cargoes. Should such armed vessels not be available, his Excellency was impowered to fit out his own. For encouragement, Congress wanted the men employed in them awarded one-half of the value of the prizes taken.

Washington sent instructions in haste to Moylan and Glover. " Every hand should be set to work " on the three schooners! A fourth one should be hired! No time should be lost! The first two ready should be provisioned for six weeks for crews of seventy men each! The instant they were ready, headquarters should be advised!

Then his Excellency assured the Continental Congress that its desires could be complied with promptly by his own naval force, commanded by " Officers of the Continental army, who are well recommended as persons acquainted with the sea, and capable of such service." Two of them would be dispatched after the powder brigs. An offer of one-half the value of the prizes would be discriminatory against the other schooners, so he would maintain all of them upon a one-third-of-the-cargo basis. Some kind of bounty

would be reserved, however, "as a reward for extraordinary activity." [6]

Nicholson Broughton, as senior captain, was selected to command one of the schooners to be sent in quest of the powder brigs. The other was another captain in the Marblehead regiment, John Selman, a former shipmaster of that port. Selman was younger than Broughton, five months past his thirty-first birthday but cast in a similar mold—opinionated, dogmatic and acquisitive. To these captains on October 12 went identical directions: "You are to recruit your present crew to seventy men, including officers." Further instructions would follow.[7] "Lose no time," Reed urged Glover that same day. "Everything depends upon expedition."

Additional instructions were drafted on October 16. Washington was explicit. From previous experience with his senior captain, he knew orders would have to be plain as a pike staff. They were advised of the two unarmed brigs bound for Quebec.

"You are hereby directed to make all possible dispatch for the River St. Lawrence," was the opening injunction, "and there to take such a station as will best enable you to intercept the above vessels." They could seize any other transports that definitely were engaged in supplying "the Ministerial Army or Navy in America," and, off the St. Lawrence, any vessel, even though not a transport, if they had reason to believe it was employed by government in conveying supplies or provisions. Under no circumstances, however, were they to molest any vessel, "the property of the inhabitants of Canada, not employed in any respect in the service of the Ministerial Army."

When they reached the mouth of the river, they should ascertain if the powder brigs already had passed by. If so, they were to remain cruising as long as the season would admit. The reason given (on a high note of optimism) was the great probability that "Quebeck will fall into our hands in a very short time," and British vessels, including both powder brigs, might flee down river. Selman was to consider Broughton "as your Commodore." Each set of instructions was sealed and endorsed, "Not to be opened till out of sight of land." Reed sent an express off for Beverly that evening, with the terse comment: "Captains Broughton and Selman have their orders, and must be immediately Dispatched."

Washington next proceeded to select commanders for his three other vessels. John Manley, a Boston shipmaster temporarily sojourning in Marblehead, and not an army officer, was commissioned to the third one at Beverly, and Winborn Adams of the Second New Hampshire regiment, to the fourth. William Coit of the Sixth Connecticut regiment received the call for Daniel Adams' schooner at Plymouth.

John Manley is one of the most contradictory figures of the Revolutionary naval war, and two biographers have added little authentic information about his early life, nor adequately portrayed his career. According to a fellow officer, who admired him not at all, Manley "had lately the Honor of being a Stick Officer Vulgarly called Boatswain's Mate in an english Man of War and was duly qualified for that heigh station, if Fame says true, as appears by his not Deigning to Read English." This harsh appraisal came later, after the captain had attained high seniority, command of a frigate, and a tendency to strut. At the time of his appointment by Washington, he seems to have been a rough, ready and aggressive man, about forty-two years of age, with lengthy experience in the British navy and as a merchant skipper.

His Excellency took the recommendation of Major General John Sullivan, commanding the New Hampshire troops, in appointing Winborn Adams. Concerning Adams there has been obscurity. Those who have written about Washington's fleet have mistaken him for Daniel Adams of Plymouth. The New Hampshire captain came from the town of Durham. One garbled genealogical sketch has confused him with some of his forebears. Another has called him a "chirurgeon," a surveyor and an innkeeper. He was born around 1730, had been active in the seizure of military stores at Fort William and Mary in Portsmouth harbor in December, 1774, and was commissioned captain of the first company raised in Durham for the Revolutionary army. That he was a man of merit and courage is indicated by the fact that, subsequently, he rose to lieutenant colonel of a regiment of the New Hampshire line, and was killed in action at Bemis Heights in 1777.

For Daniel Adams' schooner at Plymouth, Washington's choice was an interesting character. William Coit, of New London, was "tall, portly, soldierly in bearing, frank, jovial, somewhat eccentric,

and very liberal." Thus the fulsome way one of his contemporaries described him. Born in 1742, he graduated from Yale at the age of nineteen, studied law, went to sea, earned a master's berth, came home and practiced at the bar until the Lexington alarm. Despite biographical encomiums, however, his Excellency later would call him "the blundering Captain Coit." [8]

Lieutenant Bowen had reported that Daniel Adams' schooner met all requirements, but it might be necessary to go to Rhode Island to secure guns. Washington sent a word of caution: "If it is absolutely necessary to procure guns at Providence and Bristol, you must go, but we have always found that when gentlemen, sent upon this business, go among their friends, they are apt to stay too long, and are induced to favour their friends in such articles as may be wanted, so as to delay the business." This admonitory letter was taken to Plymouth on October 17 by Sion Martindale. The captain was going down to fit out the schooner he had rhapsodized about, and Bowen was to assist him.

Three gentlemen, a committee from the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, arrived at Cambridge on October 16, to confer with his Excellency upon "the most effectual method of continuing, supporting and regulating the continental army." Heading the delegates was Dr. Benjamin Franklin. His colleagues were Thomas Lynch of South Carolina and Benjamin Harrison of Virginia. The day the Congressional committee reached headquarters, names were selected for the armed schooners. Who chose the names is not apparent. Confusion existed in everybody's mind in camp, however, as to which captain commanded which vessel at Beverly. Reed had them twisted in his correspondence, and Washington, in some additional instructions to Broughton, referred to Selman as commanding a vessel that was not hired until the next year. This confusion has existed ever since.

The four vessels commissioned at Beverly were:

The *Hancock,* named for John Hancock, president of the Continental Congress, and commanded by Nicholson Broughton.

The *Franklin,* honoring Benjamin Franklin of the Congressional committee, and commanded by John Selman.

The *Lee,* intended to honor either Richard Henry Lee, a Vir-

ginia delegate to Congress, or Charles Lee, second in command at Cambridge, John Manley commanding.

The *Warren,* in memory of the patriotic Dr. Joseph Warren, killed at Bunker Hill, and commanded by Winborn Adams.

At Plymouth the designations were:

The *Washington,* formerly the *Eagle,* in whose renaming the modest Commander in Chief certainly had no part, commanded by Sion Martindale.

The *Harrison,* honoring Benjamin Harrison of the Congressional committee, William Coit in command.

As days passed and no word came of the sailing of Broughton and Selman, Washington's irritation grew. By his direction, Reed lashed at Colonel Glover. "If they are not soon at sea, we shall heartily repent it was ever undertaken," was one biting comment. Now he added another disturbing bit of news; a small enemy squadron was bombarding Falmouth, and "our vessels must be careful how they fall in with them." His parting injunction was to urge the captains to fix upon identifying signals. "What do you think of a flag with a white ground, a tree in the middle, the motto 'Appeal to Heaven'?" he asked. "This is the flag of our floating batteries."

Again through Reed, his Excellency prodded Glover and Moylan: "For God's sake hurry off the vessels that are to cruise—transports without convoy arrive every day at Boston." Turning to Plymouth, he supplied Bowen with a letter to the Committee of Safety, promising to replace any powder it might loan to the Continent, and another to the committee at Bristol, Rhode Island, asking that the young lieutenant be furnished with such suitable cannon as might be in store there. Guns for the *Harrison* had been located in Plymouth, so the additional weapons were needed for Martindale's vessel only.

News of the wanton destruction of Falmouth had focused attention of the committee from Congress upon naval matters. Washington reviewed his activities in arming schooners at Beverly and Plymouth and desired approval. If the committee had sufficient power, he wanted decisions on sundry questions he had raised in letters to Congress.

"In what light are Vessels, which are made captures of, with

their Cargoes, to be considered?" he asked the committee, amplifying the inquiry with, "that is, what part is to be assigned the captors, in the pay of the Continent, and where Vessels are fitted out at publick expense, and how is the residue of the Cargo and Vessel to be disposed of?"

His instructions and additional instructions to various captains were read, and "being considered were approved, except that one-third of the whole captures be allowed the Officers and men without any reserve." A memorandum of the conference contains further explanation that "Captures made by Armed Vessels in the pay of the Continent, be disposed of by the General for the publick use untill the Continental Congress give farther directions."

The next problem was what should be done with prisoners. The committee pondered and determined that "all persons taken in arms on board any prize be deemed prisoners at the disposal of the General." Where the vessel was unarmed, the crews should be set at liberty, "upon giving security to return to Europe." This indulgence should end the first of the following April. In conclusion, Washington summed up with a direct question:

"Six vessels, armed, are now fitted out and fitting upon the best terms, to intercept the enemy's supplies. Will this be agreeable to the Congress?"

Franklin, Lynch and Harrison put their heads together and, with unanimity, delivered their reply:

"The Committee approve of the scheme, and will recommend it to the Congress."

Washington's efforts at long last seemed about to bear fruit. The one fly in the ointment was the loss of his able secretary. Joseph Reed, with press of private business as the ostensible reason, demanded immediate leave of absence. He agreed, however, to remain at camp until he had concluded the business of the armed vessels, or at least, put it in a train where someone could carry on without difficulty.

"A List of the Armed Vessels and a State of Them," he prepared for Washington's guidance at the end of October, and then departed for home. Each vessel at Beverly, he reported, carried four 4-pounders and ten swivels, with twenty rounds for each gun. Broughton and Selman had seventy men each, and had sailed for

the St. Lawrence. Manley and Adams had each fifty men, and would operate along the coast.

Reed was persuaded that the *Washington*, at Plymouth, "a fine vessel mounting ten carriage guns," would sail in another twenty-four hours, although admitting that the Rhode Island crew had not yet been ordered from camp. The *Harrison*, carrying fifty men and four carriage guns, he announced, was out cruising. Much of his report was incorrect, and the Plymouth section was wishful thinking.

CHAPTER THREE

Four Schooners Sail From Beverly

GEORGE WASHINGTON at Cambridge could order and urge; his secretary could chide and reproach; all in desire to hasten his Excellency's fleet to sea. Accomplishment of this, however, rested not at headquarters, but with John Glover and Stephen Moylan at Beverly, and Ephraim Bowen at Plymouth. Theirs was the responsibility to hire and convert small seaworthy schooners into armed vessels strong enough to raid British supply lines, yet fleet enough to elude his Majesty's cruisers. But Beverly and Plymouth being, as the crow flies, forty miles apart, and communications being what they were, there could be no co-ordinated effort. Hence, their activities likewise require separate consideration.

Moylan met Glover at Marblehead on October 5, and they sat down in the Colonel's spacious parlor, before a cheerful log fire, and considered their problems. Glover was familiar with most of the vessels in the area, their age and sailing qualities. As all seagoing craft had been removed safely around to Beverly, Moylan was willing to accept his confrere's evaluations. So they negotiated with Thomas Grant and Archibald Selman, owners respectively of the schooners *Speedwell* and *Elizabeth,* vessels known favorably to the Colonel. Monthly hire was set at five shillings, four pence per ton, lawful money of Massachusetts. It was agreed both vessels should be appraised, and, if lost in service, reimbursement should be at appraisal value.

These New England schooners customarily carried three sails—mainsail, foresail and jib—as sufficient for the voyages usually made.

Moylan and Glover wanted topsails included, for the additional speed essential either in pursuit or flight. The owners replied, justly enough, that if other sails were purchased the hire would be inadequate to the expense. With so favorable a rate per ton secured, Moylan and Glover dared not haggle, and agreed "that what extra expense may accrue from the nature of their present employment must be a publick charge."

This settled, they journeyed to Salem and ferried to Beverly. Moylan had his first close inspection of New England-built schooners. They were somewhat clumsy in appearance; high and bluff in the bow with a stern even higher, due to a half deck built forward far enough to include the mainmast. They had topmasts but never used them to carry sail. Below deck, forward, in the after part of the forecastle, was a large brick fireplace, with an iron pot suspended about it from a crane. Under the half deck was a master's cabin and a mate's cubbyhole. Seven to ten men ordinarily comprised the crew. Now fifty or more were to be accommodated. A great deal of alteration certainly would be necessary.[1]

Masters, mates and three hands apiece were engaged, and portledge charges began next day. Colonel Glover loaned a number of 2- and 4-pounders and some swivels from his warehouse, and was sure other merchants in Salem, Beverly and Marblehead would be as co-operative. They contracted for blocks, cleats and dead eyes with Daniel Glover, blockmaker and the Colonel's younger brother; for paint, white lead and putty with William Gray, a Beverly painter; for cordage and twine from the chandlery shop of Joseph Vincent; and for hooks, staples, bolts and nails from Daniel Wallis' smithy. A large mainsail for the *Speedwell* was begun in Benjamin Beckford's sail loft, where all sails for her and the *Elizabeth* would be mended and relined. William Bartlett, Beverly merchant, agreed to find topsails.[2]

With rare optimism, Moylan on Saturday, October 7, advised headquarters that one schooner "would be ready for sea on Thursday next." He reckoned without his carpenters. They had been hard to find, and refused to ply their trade on Sunday. He called them "religious rascals," but no matter how he and Glover pled and reasoned with them, they would not work on the Sabbath. Earlier expectations had been too sanguine. "It will be Saturday

[October 14] before the first will be ready to sail," they admitted ruefully a few days later.

Moylan then left on a hurried mission to Portsmouth, so only Colonel Glover witnessed the climax of the career of the *Hannah* on October 10. His only reference to it, however, was to comment that "Captain Broughton is very unwell, but hope it is nothing more than a bad cold which he took at the time of running his vessel ashore." On the day Beverly and Salem had their battle with the *Nautilus,* he had been busy getting appraisals on the *Speedwell* and the *Elizabeth.* The "indifferent persons" selected were his elder brother, Jonathan, and Edward Fettyplace, chairman of the Marblehead Committee of Safety. The appraisals proved gems of conciseness and misspelling. For the *Speedwell:*

We The Subscribers Being desiered by Coll. John Glover to apprize the Schr. Speedwell of Seventy two Tuns Taken up for the Service of the united Colonies, (of America) Belonging to Mr. Thos. Grant of Marblehead, have Cearfully Examoned the hull, her Age, the Sails Riggen Cables & Anchrs. together with the Boat Stores &c, as She Now Lays at Beverly wharfe do Value Saide Vessell in our Judgment to be worth Three Hundred Thirty one pounds Six Shillings & Eight pence.

The *Elizabeth,* of sixty tons burden, which they also "Cearfully Examoned," they valued at "three Hundred pounds three Shillings and Eight pence."

Colonel Glover's doubts of the *Hannah*'s suitability as a cruiser led to her replacement by the schooner *Two Brothers,* the property of Thomas Stevens of Marblehead. "She is noted for her good qualities," his Excellency was advised, and extra sails on board the *Hannah* would serve for her. This latter surmise proved erroneous. Benjamin Beckford was called in to make a large square sail and "a topmast Stae Sail," and William Bartlett supplied a topsail.

Next day came the order to take up a fourth schooner, prepare for crews of seventy men for each of the first two, and provision and water them for a six weeks' cruise. There was still another good schooner available. She was the *Hawk,* of sixty-four tons burden, property of John Twisdon of Marblehead. Jonathan Glover and Edward Fettyplace appraised her on October 12, along with the *Two Brothers,* previously hired. The latter, of seventy-four

tons burden, was valued at £315, eight shillings, and the *Hawk*, at £340, ten shillings.[3]

When word came to send Broughton and Selman out to look for the British powder brigs, Moylan was still absent. The *Speedwell*'s outfitting being further advanced than that of the *Two Brothers*, Glover decided to assign Broughton and his crew to her. Recruiting efforts had not succeeded. Broughton had been forbidden to enlist from the seacoast company, so he could not be held responsible for failure to add any men from Marblehead. His complement was brought up to seventy out of Glover's regiment. Captain Selman, from camp at Winter Hill, reported a deficiency of ten. His crew was completed in like manner.

The *Speedwell* was armed with six 4-pounders and ten swivels, and the *Elizabeth* with two 4-pounders, four 2-pounders and ten swivels. Formers for cartridges for cannon and swivel went off on October 13 to Colonel William Burbank, ordnance officer at Cambridge, with a requisition for ammunition. Muskets being awkward to use in boarding, Glover suggested that " every man be furnished with a spear or cutlass, and a pair of pistols, if to be had." By that Saturday night, Colonel Glover felt he had accomplished much in the ten days since leaving camp. The *Speedwell* and the *Elizabeth* were outfitted, armed, wooded, watered, and, save for bread, provisioned. Their ammunition should be enroute from headquarters. In the knowledge of a job well done, he departed for Marblehead to spend a quiet Sabbath at home.

There was no quiet. One of his Majesty's cruisers came out of Boston early that Sunday morning, and stood for the mouth of Marblehead's open harbor. The inhabitants were " vastly alarmed," the Colonel among them. Fears were allayed when the ship tacked off the harbor mouth, and stood out to lay to about two leagues off shore. The unwelcome visitor was the *Nautilus*, and she lingered off Marblehead through the day. Her presence did not deter Glover from writing that evening to Washington. He could report " the two vessels that the Captains Broughton and Selman are to command are ready to take the troops on board." Also, he embarrassed Washington by thanking him for promising the command of one of the remaining armed vessels to his son, John Glover, Jr. This was a bit premature as his Excellency thought John Jr. too

young, and recommended a cruise as second in command under Manley, after which he "will have the seventh vessel fitted out."

Broughton, young Glover and Lieutenant Devereaux were recipients of "a compliment" from John Langdon, the owner, for retaking the *Unity*: sixty dollars for the captain, forty dollars for Glover and thirty dollars for Devereaux. The men, who had "behaved so ill," got nothing. A bit chagrined at the refusal of an immediate command for his son, it took some prodding to get Colonel Glover to admit that he thought the gift "very genteel." No doubt, too, a letter from Colonel Reed, expressing his Excellency's fears that favoritism and jobbing were retarding the outfitting of the armed vessels, irritated Glover even more. Announcement that young Glover was to be second in command to John Manley was Colonel Glover's first intimation that the latter was to command one of the remaining schooners. Confirmation followed, along with advice that the fourth schooner was to be commanded by a New Hampshire captain.

John Selman and his crew marched into Beverly on October 18, and went on board the *Elizabeth*, henceforth to be called the *Franklin*. That same day, Broughton took command of the *Speedwell*, to be known as the *Hancock*. Her original name, however, stuck with her to the end of the year.[4] Ammunition arrived with the order incomplete. Musket cartridges, musket balls, flints and buckshot were lacking. Young Glover went off to camp to hasten the missing items. To Colonel Glover's no small satisfaction, Stephen Moylan came in that same night from Portsmouth, to share the burdens. All seemed propitious for departure, but Selman reported his crew refusing to sail without a doctor. None was to be had nearby, but it was believed Dr. Isaac Spofford of Nixon's Massachusetts regiment might volunteer. The suggestion went off to camp, with the significant comment, "forward the Surgeon and those articles which may give work to surgeons immediately."

Dr. Spofford reached Beverly late on the afternoon of October 21. There were no further delays. Both captains had full complements. Broughton's first lieutenant was Richard Stiles of Marblehead. John Devereaux continued as second lieutenant. Selman's lieutenants were Israel Collyer and Edward Homan, from his own company. Moylan went down to the wharf on the morning of October 22.

"May I see your instructions?" he inquired of Broughton. They were produced. The seal was intact. He passed the packet back, wished them a successful cruise, and went on board the *Franklin*. Here, too, he asked to see the instructions, found them sealed, and returned them to Selman. That worthy was aggrieved.

"I remark on this," he wrote later, "that General Washington might be suspicious this being the first enterprise of this nature with sailing orders, might start the mind, but the horrors of death in all its forms would not have operated to have broken a seal or denyed a duty." [5]

An express had brought Reed's suggestion for an "Appeal to Heaven" flag. Moylan and Glover replied that the captains had naught but their old colors, and no time to be furnished with new ones. They had, however, a signal to identify each other and be known to their friends, "the ensign up to the main toppinglift."

With Broughton and Selman off for the St. Lawrence, attention centered upon the *Two Brothers* and the *Hawk*, now to be known as the *Lee* and the *Warren*. Conversion was proceeding none too rapidly. Moylan again tried his powers of persuasion upon the carpenters, urging them to a little more speed and suggesting anew that, to make way for the riggers, they labor through Sunday. The forthright Irishman, however, got nowhere with these dour New England journeymen. His disgust was conveyed to headquarters. They were "the idlest scoundrels in nature," he complained. "If I could have procured others, I should have dismissed the whole gang of them last Friday." He stuck very close to those he had, cajoling, scolding and crying "shame for their tory-like dispositions, in retarding the work." Failure to inject any appreciable speed into them wrung from him an agonizing, "I wish with all my soul that these two vessels were dispatched."

The *Lee* was armed with four 4-pounders and two 2-pounders, the latter borrowed from Captain John Derby of Salem. The *Warren* had an armament of four 4-pounders. Each schooner carried ten swivels. Each also had a master, master's mate and three seamen. Moylan and Glover believed "the Captains of both schooners should be here to superintend the work." Knowing that the Marblehead men comprising John Manley's crew would strike for home as soon as they reached Salem, they recommended sending

them from camp on Sunday, and then "we shall stand a better chance of being able to collect them on Thursday." They urged, too, that the crew of the *Warren* be held in readiness for a possible Thursday embarkation. Final requisition was forwarded to Cambridge for a miscellaneous assortment, including three hundred swivel shot, some matchrope, and forty spears.

Glover showed Moylan the reprimanding letter from Colonel Reed. While Glover was "much mortified," he had maintained a dignified silence to the criticism. Not so Moylan, who felt injustice had been done, and set out to correct it.

"I realy and sincerely believe he has the cause much at heart," he wrote Reed on October 24, "and that he has done his best, in the fitting out of these four vessels, for the publick service." No one could conceive the difficulty, trouble and delay involved in procuring the many things necessary for even just one of the vessels. Reed should not judge progress in comparison with Philadelphia or New York, where a similar job might take about three days, as needed articles were easily available. At Beverly they had to search all over that town, Salem, Marblehead and even Danvers for every little thing wanted. Moylan explained why Colonel Glover, or any person from the same neighborhood, should not be employed on public affairs in the Salem area. It was because the spirit of equality reigning throughout the country made a public servant afraid of exerting the authority necessary to expedite pubic business.

"He must shake every man by the hand," Moylan continued, "and desire, beg, and pray, 'do brother, do my friend, do such a thing,' whereas, a few hearty dams, from a person who did not care a damn for them, would have a much better effect." [6]

The Marblehead men for the *Lee* reached Salem on October 24, and, as predicted, they promptly went home. John Manley arrived to supervise the last stages of outfitting. Two days later, young Glover came from headquarters with the articles requisitioned, or rather with all except the most important material—the three hundred swivel shot. His reason for the omission infuriated Moylan.

"He says there were none," the latter exploded, "but says there were plenty of four ounce bullets, which, if he had one ounce of sense [he] must have known would answer all the purposes."

Moylan was further irritated to learn that young Glover had

applied at headquarters for a subaltern and twenty more men than intended for the *Lee*. The application stemmed from his desire to have an officer friend on board and fear that no extra officer would be allowed without additional men. Moylan saw no harm in indulging Glover with his friend, save that it set a bad example, but objected seriously to an increase in the complement. Provisions and stores were laid in for fifty men only.

"You may have your friend with you, if you please," he told young Glover, "but he, with fifty more, officers included, are all I will suffer to go on board, except I have written orders from headquarters to the contrary."

Moylan spent all of October 27 collecting the *Lee*'s "hopeful crew," and without much success. He warned Manley, "that if there are even thirty on board tomorrow morning, and the wind proves fair, that he shall hoist sail." There was a report that a transport with 1,200 barrels of powder on board had been missing for some time, to the vast alarm of the British in Boston. "That would be a glorious prize indeed," Moylan sighed. The report provided the spur to attract the stragglers. By next day the *Lee* was at full complement. In the late afternoon of October 28, John Manley dropped down with the tide and lay to, off Tuck Point, where he awaited a fair wind. It came on the following morning, and the third of his Excellency's schooners went to sea.

Still no signs of the New Hampshire men, although Moylan and Glover were anxious to see Captain Adams, as his vessel was ready. While waiting, they completed negotiations for agents at Beverly and Marblehead. They had agreed upon terms: a commission of two and one-half percent on the sale of any prize vessel or cargo, and the same rate for all disbursements for the armed schooners. At Marblehead the appointee was the Colonel's brother, Jonathan Glover; at Beverly, William Bartlett, prominent and capable merchant. They acknowledged receipt of Washington's instructions in identical words: "I do hereby promise to pay all due attention to the instructions they [Glover and Moylan] have given me from his Excellency, & to such as I may hereafter receive from Headquarters—I do also promise faithfully to fulfill as far as in my power Lays, the trust now reposed in me." [7]

Moylan fretted through Sunday and most of Monday at Beverly.

Late that afternoon, Winborn Adams and his company marched in from Medford. Early on the morning of October 31, with a favoring breeze, his Excellency's fourth armed schooner sailed. Stephen Moylan packed his saddle bags and rode off for headquarters even before the *Warren* had passed from sight beyond Baker's Island. In one day under four weeks, he and Glover had fulfilled their task.

CHAPTER FOUR

Operations In and Out of Plymouth

LIEUTENANT EPHRAIM BOWEN was an able and energetic young man, and the nag conveying him from Cambridge was too deliberate to suit his taste. Despite urging by voice, spur and whip, he was unable to drive the animal beyond a steady trot. He reached Plymouth late on the night of Saturday, October 14. "Boarding, Lodging & Horskeepg." were secured with a "Thos. So. Howland," and these comfortable quarters were retained for the ensuing stay.

Inquiry disclosed that Daniel Adams and his schooner were at Kingston. Exasperatingly enough, Bowen had ridden through that hamlet enroute to Plymouth. Being too late to accomplish anything, the weary lieutenant dropped into one of Howland's downy beds. Next morning he rode to Kingston. Adams promised to have the vessel down to Plymouth that afternoon. Of sixty-four tons burden, she was called the *Triton*. Later that day several disinterested seafaring men gave her "an Excellent Character as a Sailer."

Monday morning Bowen waited upon William Watson, whom James Warren, at Watertown, had recommended for agent. Watson, senior member of the reputable mercantile firm of Watson and Spooner, agreed to act. He was also a member of the Plymouth Committee of Correspondence, thus facilitating presentation of Colonel Reed's letter asking that committee's assistance, "particularly in procuring guns suitable for the vessel." The committee produced four single-fortified carriage guns, to carry 3-pound shot. It also located "Seven Swivels of Different Size Bour, one of which is Brass, one Excellent Wall piece & two Co-horns." If the cannon would not answer, the committee suggested that guns might be had

in Providence or Bristol. As he was well known in both places, Bowen wrote Washington that night, offering to go into Rhode Island.[1]

Meanwhile he negotiated for the *Triton*. Adams agreed "to fix Said Schooner with all needful Sails (particularly Top-sails) Riging, a good Long Boat, Cables, Anchors, Tackel & all appertinances, Strong and Sufficient to perform a Cruise any where between Cape Codd & Cape Ann, Or elsewhere." If the Continent supplied top-sails for other armed vessels, "then Cap. Adams [is] to be allow'd for his main Topsail."

All that day and the next, Bowen attended the schooner. Three carpenters were at work "Laying platform" aft to make a quarter deck. Three more were "imploid Cuting ports, Stations [stanchions] for Swivels and yards for maintopsail." Sweeps for "ye Cuntry schner" were being fashioned of ash and pine in Ebenezer Doggett's carpentry shop. George Lewis, ship chandler, produced rammers, sponges, linstocks and handspikes for the guns and swivels, as well as gun tackle and cartouch boxes. In the Watson and Spooner store provisions were being received and receptacles provided—barrels for beef and pork, casks for bread, iron-bound hogsheads for water, and canvas bags for coffee.[2]

Sion Martindale, with the instructions for Watson as agent, rode into Plymouth on October 18. These instructions were a pattern to be followed by all agents. Authority was limited. Most matters they were to refer to headquarters for decision. Watson, for example, was to lay in provisions for the two schooners; a month's supply for fifty men. Should other vessels cruising on Continental account put into port, he could supply them with necessaries. Vessels once equipped or re-provisioned should not be allowed to delay. Prizes would be directed to the agent, who, having informed himself of their quality and value, should send all papers "up to the General," and await further directions. Headquarters would welcome recommendations for disposal of prize goods, but fear of favoritism loomed in an injunction not to be influenced by private interest, "as it is intended so to regulate the sale of cargoes as to make them most advantageous to the public." Of irregularity, misconduct, or negligence on the part of officers, the agent was "to give immediate information to the General." His account must

include original bills or invoices as vouchers, with affidavit affixed. This was not required "from any jealousy or suspicion, but that the utmost satisfaction may be given the Country, and that all agents may be on the same footing."

From Martindale, Bowen learned that the *Triton* was to be called the *Harrison*, and that William Coit was to command her.[3] The second vessel was to be named the *Washington*, not the *Eagle*. She was a schooner, the *Endeavor*, of 160 tons burden, belonging three-quarters to a George Erving, and one-quarter to a Captain Benjamin Wormwell, who could go in her as master. Bowen was to assist Martindale and Watson in equipping her for sea. The Plymouth committee, meanwhile, had taken possession of Erving's three-fourths share of the schooner, Erving having developed Tory tendencies and fled to Boston. Bowen and Watson began fitting her out, despite Wormwell's insistence he must have more than the going rate per ton for his share.[4]

Before then Martindale announced that he was to have twelve carriage guns and sixteen to twenty swivels for the *Washington*. The number floored Bowen, although admittedly the vessel was large enough to carry them. He put the problem up to headquarters. He would do nothing further until he had his Excellency's opinion on the number of guns and Wormwell's demands. Martindale had brought Washington's authorization to Bowen to proceed to Rhode Island, with an admonition against delay by going among friends. The Lieutenant resented the caution: "I have no friends in Providence or Bristol who can reap any advantage in this business through my means, and be assured that I would not lose one moment's time to the detriment of the cause in which I am engaged."

With the four available guns, the *Harrison* would be "complete for sea by Saturday night." Should he look for more swivels for her? The Plymouth committee had powder ample to fill the cartridges required. To secure it, he needed a line to the committee "to ease the minds of the people!" As he desired prompt answers, Bowen sent the letter by special messenger. "The horse he rides," he remarked, "is the one I rode, in lieu of which I beg you will order a better, as it will be impossible to make the despatch at Bristol, which will be requisite, with him."

Wormwell came around, agreeing to the usual terms, but requesting a lieutenancy rather than the berth of master. This was outside Bowen's province, but he promised to support the application to his Excellency. Meantime, Martindale proposed brig-rigging the *Washington*, offering such convincing arguments that Bowen and Watson consented.

The official charter agreement for the *Harrison* was concluded on October 22. She was appraised at £170 lawful money of Massachusetts, and Bowen bound Washington to pay that sum for her should she be "Lost in Said Service." An express, upon a better horse, and with satisfactory answers to all questions, rode into Plymouth at sunset the same day. There was a reward for the Lieutenant's troubles in the warm praise that "your conduct in fitting out the vessels is much approved by his Excellency, who is particularly pleased with your dispatch." Bowen should accept the seven swivels for the *Harrison*, but not delay for more. A letter requesting the powder was enclosed for the Plymouth committee. Captain Coit would be sent down shortly, and Bowen was to remain "till the vessels are equipped and sailed."

His Excellency could see no reason for such a number of guns as Martindale had proposed, unless the *Washington* was meant "to go without powder for them." Eight or ten 6-pounders with ten or twelve swivels should be ample. Regarding the trip to Rhode Island, his Excellency's earlier admonition was "only meant to give you a caution, as we have been very unfortunate in sending persons to do business where their connexions lay."

Bowen replied that night by favor of Benjamin Wormwell, who "goes to Collicit a First or Second Lieut^{s}. Birth which if you would please to give him will greatly Oblige Cap^{t}. Martindale, as he [Wormwell] is well acquainted with the Vessel & Bears a Good Character." The Lieutenant gave assurances that "Cap^{t}. Martindale is Anxious to please the Gen^{l}. & Says he will go to no unnecessary Expence."

On a note of optimism, Bowen believed the *Washington* would be equipped within a week. Carpenters and riggers began the week by brig-rigging the vessel. That same Monday, provisions and stores were placed on board the *Harrison*. She was ready for her crew, but no Captain Coit appeared that day or the next. Bowen

waited impatiently until late afternoon, and then, accompanied by Martindale, left for Bristol.[5]

Jovial William Coit and his Connecticut men marched into Plymouth on October 25. The *Harrison* lay alongside Thomas Lathrop's wharf. The crew under Lieutenant Henry Champion began filling cartridges, while Coit accompanied Watson upon an inspection of the schooner. The further the captain proceeded, the greater grew his amazement and amusement. She had black sides, a tallowed bottom, two topsails, and oars at her quarters. He described her in a letter exuding his brand of humor.

"She was launched in the spring of 1761, and has served two regular apprenticeships to sailing," he wrote, "and sails quick, being used to it." Her cabin provided accommodations for five people, but if all five tried to use it at once, they would have "to stow spoon fashion." The cabin had a chimney in it, but with a flue so defective, that "the smoke serves for bedding, victuals, drink and choking." The deck was so old that the first time use was made of a clawed spike "it broke a hole through, notwithstanding the wench knew it was directly over the magazine."

Of her armament, he waxed especially sarcastic: "4 four pounders, brought into this country by the company of Lords Say and Seal, to Saybrook when they first came, A pair of cohorns that Noah had in the Ark; one of which lacks a touch-hole, having hardened steel drove therein, that she might not be of service to Sir Edmund Andros—Six swivels, the first that ever were landed in Plymouth, and never fired since."

Coit's condemnation was borne out by the appraisal of these same weapons by three gentlemen, who "ware Chosen by The Commity to Valeu the above Articles." When peace came, Coit said he would recommend the *Harrison* "and her apparatus" be sent to the Royal Society. He was willing to "eat a red-hot gridiron," if the Society ever had, "or will have until the day of judgment, any curiosity equal to her." He summed up with a flat statement that she was "the devil."[6]

Despite his opinion, Coit set sail from Plymouth on October 26. The cruise ended abruptly upon a sand bar at the harbor mouth, where, "through the stupidity and unskilfulness of the pilot," the little vessel was run hard aground. The captain's opinion went off

to headquarters, with the request that the *Harrison* be decommissioned, and her gear, provisions and crew be transferred to a more suitable bottom.

Pine tree flags had been fashioned by Lucy Hammatt, a skilled needlewoman of Plymouth. Watson had come to her with the design and material for each flag. For the *Harrison* he had selected tammy, a thin woolen fabric procured at a shilling, six pence per yard. For the *Washington* a more costly choice was made—kersey cloth at four shillings, eight pence per yard. Martindale's expensive tastes seem to have been communicated to the agent. They were reflected in Lucy Hammatt's bill—eight shillings to make the *Harrison*'s colors, and twelve shillings for the *Washington*. The fields were white, or as near white as were the woolen cloths. On one side was centered a green pine tree; on the other, each letter neatly stitched in place, the words "Appeal to Heaven."

Mrs. Hammatt's handiwork had not been completed in time to hoist the pine tree flag over the *Harrison* when she first sallied forth. When she returned for a quick overhaul, the colors were finished. Watson expected her to sail again on October 30. He had no thought of transferring Coit and his crew to another vessel; none was available. The new flag was entrusted to the captain. Another pilot came on board—one who knew every shoal in Plymouth harbor and could take the *Harrison* in safety to Birch Point, beyond which would be clear sailing. The schooner cast off on October 31, and stood forth with William Coit "strutting about on the quarter deck." Whereupon, the "skilled pilot" steered her upon a sand bar, where she seemed likely to remain for another twenty-four hours. There she rested when, on November 1, John Manley, in the *Lee*, stood into Plymouth harbor. His three-day cruise from Beverly had been profitless, and he had come in for fresh water.[7]

Ephraim Bowen did not disclose that Martindale had left Plymouth in his company on October 24. The captain, too, was silent on that subject. Apparently he desired to see his family in Bristol before sailing, and Bowen gave tacit approval to his absence without leave. They were thirteen miles on their way the first evening, and reached Bristol the following afternoon. Bowen took a room at Smith's ordinary. What happened to Martindale for the ensuing week would be mere conjecture.

Bowen's conduct in condoning the captain's dereliction was deplorable, but the expedition with which he set about seeking cannon was most commendable. The night of his arrival, despite fatigue and a steady rainfall, he sought the Bristol Committee of Safety, presented his recommendations, and asked its aid. The only guns in town were the property of Captain Simeon Potter, who might dispose of them. The next morning Bowen waited on Potter, an elderly merchant, who owned ten 4-pounders and ten swivels, but would neither lend them nor hire them. He would sell his Excellency the 4-pounders alone for one thousand dollars. That price Bowen considered extravagant.

Military headquarters were just north of Newport, and thither Bowen repaired that same morning. Colonel Esek Hopkins—the same Hopkins who shortly would be called to Philadelphia to become a most ineffective commodore—said guns could be supplied, but only upon written authority of Governor Nicholas Cooke. Discouraged, but not disheartened, the Lieutenant returned to Bristol, made Captain Potter an offer which that gentleman declined, and pushed on to Providence. The Lieutenant Governor was out of town, but was expected home by noon next day. It was late afternoon when Cooke returned. He promised to place the request before the Rhode Island Committee of Safety that evening. Bowen presented himself early the following morning, and was rewarded with an order on Hopkins for ten 4-pounders. No swivels could be spared.

Heavy rainfall delayed him some hours in Providence. At dusk he rode into Bristol—too late to proceed to headquarters above Newport. Why not call again on Captain Potter and offer to buy the swivels? But old Simeon was not interested. He would not sell the swivels without the 4-pounders. Bowen returned to his inn, where shortly a note came from Potter:

I will Let You have 10 Swivel Gunns at 20 Doll^{rs} p^{r} Pare, most of which is already Swiveled and Ten Careadge gunns four pounders w^{t}, about 12:0:0 Each Gun European made & proved & is Reckond much Better than N Eng^{d}. Cast Cannon with 10 Caredges 200 Shott belongen to the Gunns with what rammers Spunges Ladles wormers formers Leather & wooden Carteridge Boxes & powder Hornes there may be remaining belonging to the s^{d}. Gunns for Seven hundread Dollers. if the above price

will Sute you may have them Deld. Amedetly if not we say no more about them.

That was a come down from the original demand of a thousand dollars for the ten 4-pounders only! It was still too high for Bowen, but he sensed old Simeon was weakening. He dropped by Potter's store and presented his final offer. He would pay £220 Massachusetts currency for the guns and swivels! It was a little less than the merchant's price. Bowen would not have gone that high but in no other way could he procure swivels. To his relief, after some haggling, Potter agreed.

Bowen already had arranged transportation for the weapons—the sloop *Gaspee*, William Christopher, master—to carry the guns up Taunton River to Taunton town. By late afternoon, the *Gaspee* was northward bound. Bowen reported that night: "As I have used the Utmost dispatch Possible, I think it cannot be displeasing to the General." Then he drove for Taunton to hire carts to carry his weapons across to Plymouth. At Taunton, on October 30, Bowen engaged carters, but the sloop did not appear. Next morning he sent a pilot down river, who brought her up to Taunton dock in the afternoon. Transshipment was expeditious. Bowen, heading for Plymouth, passed the lumbering carts in the night. He reached his destination on November 1. Oddly enough, Sion Martindale returned to Plymouth the same day.[8]

The plight of the *Harrison* engaged Bowen's immediate attention. Captain Coit assured him the schooner would be off the sand bar that evening and would sail in the morning with Manley. The Lieutenant went on board the *Lee* and found her complete in every respect. It greatly relieved his mind. "Since seeing her," he wrote, "I have been very happy, as I thought before that the expence Captain Martindale was at would be disliked by the General." A wind shift, changing to hard gales, detained both schooners. The bad weather lifted on November 4. Manley was ready and sailed in the morning, but "Coit got aground again." He lost six more hours because of a wind shift. At dusk he finally went to sea.

While Coit was losing precious time on harbor shoals, conversion of the *Washington* had been proceeding. Consider Howland, a Plymouth shipmaster, had signed on as sailing master. Carpenters

were laying a platform for the quarter deck, cutting gunports and partitioning off cabins. A bricklayer was constructing a fireplace and flue in the galley. Another Howland, brother Joseph, a sailmaker, was fashioning sails to fit brig rigging. Necessary yards and spars had been procured by Watson and Spooner. Cordage, boltrope, marline and ratlines were supplied from Abraham Hammatt's ropewalk, and riggers were swarming over her.

There was one hitch. Plymouth's stock of powder and shot had been depleted. The committee would spare no more, as threats to destroy the town had emanated from Boston. Powder, ball, matchrope and cartridge paper must be forwarded from Cambridge. "There is much more to be done to this vessel than I expected," Bowen reported, "and Captain Martindale seems determined to have nothing wanting."

Trouble had developed over Benjamin Wormwell, who had returned from camp with a lieutenant's commission, and expected to be first officer. Martindale had selected Lieutenant Moses Turner of his own Rhode Island regiment for that post. He suggested Wormwell be assigned as second officer. The latter refused. Whereupon, the captain sent Turner to camp with a request for a second lieutenant, and a letter filled with more ambitious ideas. The *Washington* should have one hundred, or at least, eighty men as her complement. He would then "be able to give a good account of her," and he would like a drum and fife, as he understood the other armed vessels were so equipped.

The charter for the *Washington* was consummated on November 3, with John Torrey, chairman of the Plymouth committee, and Benjamin Wormwell signing for the respective owners, and Bowen, in behalf of Washington. The brig was engaged "to Perform a Cruize any where between Cape Cod and Cape ann or Elsewhere." An appraisal valued her at £370 "Lawful Money & no more." [9]

On the outer edge of Boston Bay, in the twilight of November 5, William Coit was the first to achieve the purpose for which Washington was fitting out armed schooners. The *Harrison*, limping along under shortened sail because of a weak mainmast, happened upon two provision vessels from Nova Scotia for Boston. Their decks were piled high with cordwood and cluttered with pens and

crates, from which, as they hove to, arose the cackle of geese and chickens, the bellow of cattle, the bleat of sheep and the squeal of hogs. To Coit and his crew the din was dulcit music, which sang of prize money. The cacophony drowned out voices of captors and captives until the *Harrison*'s boat deposited prize crews in each vessel and returned with the prisoners. The prizes were the sloop *Polly*, of seventy-five tons burden, Sibeline White, master, and the schooner *Industry*, of eighty-five tons, Charles Coffin, master. In addition to livestock, the manifests listed cordwood, hay, potatoes, turnips, butter, cheese and fish.

Among the prisoners was a noted Tory, Jabez Hatch, who had gone to Halifax at the behest "of the ministerial butchers in Boston," to load the vessels, one of which he owned. Coit seized bedding and personal effects of Hatch and both masters, as well as confiscating all money found in their pockets. Perhaps that explains why the captain referred to the captures as a "black-guard snatch at two of their provision vessels."

With a wealth of prizes and prisoners and under a bad sailing handicap, the captain returned towards Plymouth. By dawn they were off the Gurnet, and pilots conducted them safely into the harbor. There, according to a contemporary chronicler, "Captain Coit (a humorous genius) made the prisoners land upon the same rock our ancestors first trod when they landed in America, where they gave three cheers, and wished success to the American arms." [10]

Watson took charge of the prizes, while Bowen and Coit examined the *Harrison*'s mainmast and found it "rotted off in the hounds," which meant replacement. Livestock was removed to pasture or coop. Wood, hay and provisions were inventoried and stored. Lieutenant Champion, with letters from agent William Watson and from Bowen, and copies of the inventories, was dispatched for Cambridge. Coit's new mast was stepped on November 12. The next day, upon advice that a transport ship was at anchor off Cape Cod, the *Harrison* sailed out. Two days later she returned, her hands refusing to pursue the cruise. Coit sent a doleful plaint to headquarters. He could not rely on his crew, but if malcontents were weeded out, he could find replacements in Plymouth. Watson analyzed the trouble: "Captain Coit has had much difficulty, and has been greatly perplexed with an uneasy set of fellows, who had

got soured by the severity of the season and are longing for the leeks and onions of Connecticut."

Leaving Coit's problems in the hands of the agent, Bowen concentrated on the *Washington*. He was discouraged about her progress, as "the Weather Proving bad I fear will detain her some time." He had been unable to get carpenters and riggers to work during weekday downpours, and pious scruples forbade labor on sunny Sabbaths. So, when the Rhode Island soldiers marched into Plymouth under Second Lieutenant James Childs, the brig was not ready to house them. Watson rented an empty store for a barracks. Having mounted the brig's guns on November 14, and "struck the water" two days later, Bowen considered setting off for camp. He had hoped Martindale would be out cruising long before this, he advised his Excellency, "but the weather has been so extremely bad for a fortnight past that we have not been able to do anything of consequence."

"Have at length got him almost complete," he continued on a note of optimism, "and expect he will sail tomorrow morning." But the weather continued unsuitable, and the *Washington* was still in port when Bowen set out for Cambridge on November 18, ending his part in the affairs of his Excellency's navy.

CHAPTER FIVE

The Fantastic Cruise of Broughton and Selman

THE TWO SENIOR CAPTAINS in his Excellency's naval service—Nicholson Broughton and John Selman—had a long, uncomfortable passage on the way towards the St. Lawrence. What with adverse winds and crowded conditions it could not have been otherwise. The *Hancock* was slightly less than sixty feet in length and twenty in breadth, and the *Franklin*, fifty feet long with a seventeen-foot beam; so the discomfort to the seventy men in each can be appreciated.[1]

A mishap to the *Franklin* when crossing Brown Bank while giving the British naval base at Halifax a wide berth, caused further delay. She shipped a sea which racked her and set her leaking. They sought shelter in Country Harbor, a remote haven on the south shore of Nova Scotia. While repairs were being made, the captains viewed their instructions with jaundiced eyes. Why waste days in cruising for powder brigs, which probably long since had passed up the St. Lawrence? Nova Scotian waters should furnish plenty of provision cargoes bound for the ministerial army. If the enemy was driven out of Quebec and fled down-river, the goal would be Halifax. The shortest passage to Halifax was through the narrow Gut of Canso, separating Nova Scotia from Cape Breton Island. In that event, picking up richly laden supply and munition vessels might be possible.

They considered the alternatives—many prizes by cruising around Canso, or the remote chance of taking two powder brigs if they continued as ordered. They convinced themselves that the season

was too far advanced, the wind too prevalently out of the north, the powder brigs already beyond their clutches, and the possibilities around Canso too good to call for further efforts to reach the St. Lawrence. Persuaded that the mission could not be accomplished, they purposed an interpretation of orders that by results would convince Washington of their wisdom.

Shortly after leaving Country Harbor on October 29, they intercepted two small schooners laden with fish and oil: the *Prince William*, William Standly, master, and the *Mary*, Thomas Russell, master. Neither could be considered as in employ of the British government. Nevertheless, Broughton accused the skippers of being bound for Boston and, despite protests, seized the vessels, permitting masters and hands to remain on board. Broughton helped himself to three cod lines, a cod lead, and six quarts of molasses from the *Prince William*, and a hogshead of salt and six pounds of sugar from the *Mary*. Selman took from the *Prince William* a gallon and a half of molasses and an empty three-gallon jug; from the *Mary*, a hogshead of salt, seven pounds of sugar, two empty two-gallon jugs, a small pot and seven books. Why books were needed is not disclosed in the memoranda of losses kept by the masters. Orders were given John Devereaux, second lieutenant of the *Hancock*, who went as prizemaster in the *Prince William*, and Edward Homan, second lieutenant of the *Franklin*, commanding the prize crew in the *Mary*, to keep company and make for Marblehead.[2]

On the last day of October, off White Head, about five leagues southwest of Canso, another sail was spied. The wind springing to a heavy gale, the quarry bore away for White Head harbor. They ran in after her. She was the sloop *Phoebe*, James Hawkins, master, laden with dry fish, mackerel, salmon and train oil. Hawkins was questioned, and out of his interrogation Broughton framed a justification for seizing the sloop. The *Phoebe* belonged to Enoch Rust of Boston, who the previous spring had cleared her for Halifax, and from there with provisions to Quebec. Since then she had taken provisions from Louisburg to the West Indies. That action, Broughton apprehended, constituted a violation of the Continental Association—the nonimportation and nonexportation agreement entered into by the Continental Congress. When Hawkins

admitted that his owner at Canso was considering a return to Boston, Broughton waxed indignant.

"The smallest intention of going to that den of mischievous violators of the rights of humanity," he proclaimed in his letter to Washington, "must carry in the bosom of it, as we conceive, the idea of friendship to their infernal intentions. We upon the whole, conceive ourselves bound, in obedience to your Excellency's instructions, to send the vessel to a friendly port in New England. Upon her arrival your Excellency will have the vessel's papers laid before you, and will do respecting vessel and cargo as you may please. The master will be sent to New England the first opportunity after this."

Hawkins told them that a ship and brigantine had gone up the St. Lawrence in mid-September. While the *Phoebe*'s skipper had spoken neither, Broughton assumed they must be the powder vessels, thus proving to his satisfaction that it was too late to capture them. Hawkins also advised that there was a large brigantine coaling in Spanish (now Little) River on Cape Breton Island, and destined for Boston.

"We shall hoist sail directly, the wind breezing rather favourably, and pursue our course," Broughton informed Washington. The letter went with Sergeant Benjamin Doak of the *Franklin*, prize-master in the *Phoebe*, who was ordered for Beverly. Before the sloop parted, they replenished their provisions again. Broughton took a barrel of pork, a barrel and a half of flour, seventy-five pounds of bread, and forty-six pounds of tobacco. Selman got similar quantities of all items save tobacco.

Efforts to reach Spanish River were about as persistent as those for Cape North. Four days later they were off the Gut of Canso, having progressed no more than five leagues from the point where they had dispatched the *Phoebe*. Contrary winds and storm provided the alibi.

At the entrance of the Gut they found a sloop, the *Warren*, John Denny, of New Haven, master and owner. He seemed a solid citizen, but Broughton and Selman, using their own brand of guile, in their estimation proved him otherwise. The colloquy with Denny and his passenger, one Buddington, was described for the edification of his Excellency: "We, at the first conference, used the words

Yankees and Pumpkins, with apparent jeering, and asked for the King's troops. They answered as men well-affected to the Ministry would. Upon being undeceived, they did not make such apologies as true sons of liberty, strongly attached to their interest, but had mistaken their company, might naturally be expected to do."

Moreover, Denny was "esteemed by Government an inhabitant of Quebeck," and although he had cleared from Gaspé for Nantucket, neither he nor Buddington "appear in a favourable light respecting their attachment to American Liberties." In fact, "Buddington himself dare not speak in favour of Denny's political orthodoxy." So they seized the *Warren* and dispatched her, with Samuel Ashton, of the *Franklin*, prizemaster. Hawkins, of the *Phoebe*, was forwarded in her, while Denny and Buddington would "be sent by the first opportunity." They concluded the letter to Washington with the evasive statement: "Immediately upon the wind suiting, we shall endeavour to conform to the spirit of your Excellency's orders." They took a half barrel each of "flower" from the *Warren* before her departure. Selman requisitioned a gallon of oil. Broughton, learning that pork on board belonged to Buddington, seized two half barrels of it.

Having now dispatched four prizes, none in the employ of the British government, they stationed themselves in the eastern mouth of the Gut of Canso. Prize-taking did not live up to expectations. Shortly after their arrival on November 6, they learned a vessel had cast anchor in the Gut. Broughton ordered Selman down to investigate. The *Franklin* carried away her mainmast, so thoughts of a prize were abandoned while they sought a new stick. The forest primeval ranged about them, but with swamp and scrub growth for some distance inland. About fifty men made their way through three-quarters of a mile of morass before reaching a suitable stand of timber. According to Selman, they "cut down five trees before we could obtain one for a mast." Several days were needed to drag the long trunk through the swampy land to the shore and another day to trim it to proper size and step it.

On November 13 they seized the sloop *Speedwell*, James Corey, master, as she entered the Gut. She was loaded with dry-goods from England for a Canadian port and was the property of Jacob Greene and Company of Rhode Island. That was no deterrent. They

put a prize crew on board under Joseph Gregory of the *Hancock*, and sent her for Gloucester, Selman first helping himself to a half barrel of pork, three gallons of oil, and some tar.[3]

Two mechantmen, coming from Canso and bound for the Island of Jersey with lumber, were intercepted at the mouth of the Gut in mid-November, examined, held for twenty-four hours and released. One was the *Unity*, Captain Chevalier, and the other, the *Clementina*, Captain Air. Captain Chevalier believed the small value of their cargoes occasioned their liberation. Probably, it was because the ingenuity of Broughton and Selman could not contrive a suitable pretext to detain them.

In talking to the Jerseymen's French Canadian pilots, Selman learned of cannon unguarded and mounted on the walls of the old fort in Charlottetown, capital of the Island of St. John (the present Prince Edward Island). The pilots also told of recruiting underway there to reinforce the British in Quebec. The captains consulted their charts. The eastern extremity of St. John lay not more than sixty miles beyond the western outlet of the Gut, Charlottetown perhaps forty miles further; an easy two-day sail, with a favorable wind, from their present station. So, they took the pilots on board to point the way.

The season was growing more advanced and turbulent. Prizes taken had been meagre and their legality dubious. The crews, already on short allowance, were becoming restless and discontented. Some enterprise was needed or the expedition might end in mutiny or a dismal fiasco. Neither captain wanted to return empty-handed to face censure and loss of prestige, to say nothing of a court-martial. But an attack upon a colony of ministerial supporters in Charlottetown might have military justification, and find approval in the eyes of his Excellency. Their orders were silent upon the subject of assaulting cities or towns, but orders seemed not to embarrass them. At a council of war the other officers agreed with their captains that "we should do essential service by breaking up a nest of recruits intended to be sent against [General] Montgomery, who commanded our forces in Quebeck."

"The wind came southerly," declared Selman. "We went through the Gut of Canso with the two pilots aforesaid declaring to them should they run us ashore death to them would be inevitable,

they behaved true and honest." The *Hancock* and the *Franklin* came out of the Gut into George Bay, crossed it and picked up St. George Cape off to port on November 16. From there it was a short sail through Northumberland Strait. On November 17 they rounded Point Prim into Hillsborough Bay. Standing due north between St. Peter's and Governor's islands, they passed the ruins of old Fort Amherst to port, at the point where three rivers merged just below Charlottetown. Then they veered sharply to starboard and anchored in the Hillsborough River a mile and a half from the shore, the town to leeward on the north bank.[4]

Charlottetown, a tiny but regularly laid out settlement, was set upon flat ground at the junction of the Hillsborough and York rivers. Behind it and to the right the ground rose into hilly country. To the left, almost at the point, lay the fort with a flagstaff beyond. The pilots had assured the captains there was no one trained to fire the cannon. Broughton directed Selman to man the *Franklin*'s boat and take a northwesterly course for the shore, while he, in the *Hancock*'s boat, would approach from the southeast. These boats were less than fourteen feet in length, and could hold but seven men. Broughton took one of the pilots and five men with him. The second pilot went with Selman and five of the *Franklin*'s crew.

Appearance of two armed vessels sent a tremor of fear throughout Charlottetown. The governor was absent in England, and the principal officer of the crown was Philip Callbeck, styling himself "Commander in Chief of the Island of St. John." As the boats put off from the schooners Callbeck elected to meet them in a civil manner upon the wharf at the foot of Queen Street. "Not having heard that the Colonys had fitted out Privateers," he explained, "I judged them to be pirates, and by their Conduct they were Actually such. Therefore in order to preserve the Town from being burnt, I determined singly to face them, not having force of any kind to make resistance."

The *Franklin*'s boat reached shore, sliding along the wharf where a number of trembling townsfolk were assembled. The pilot pointed out Callbeck and Selman ordered him seized, while the weapons of the boat crew threatened the crowd. Protesting bitterly, Callbeck was hustled into the boat, "by order of the Continental Congress." Pleas to return to his home and reassure his family were

rejected by Selman, who anticipating considerable resistance, had seized the colony's principal officer to forestall it. John Budd, clerk of the Provincial Court, tried to intercede and was thrust into the boat also. With one guard pointing a musket at the captives and another rowing, they returned to the *Franklin*, which was working in toward shore. As Callbeck stepped upon the deck one of the party, "insolently, without any provocation," struck him.

Broughton landed further westward, beyond the flagstaff, and meeting no opposition, made for the fort. He found the cannon as described, but how many or of what calibre he failed to record. Neither did he make an effort to remove them, spiking them instead. Then he joined Selman, who agreed that the boats were too weak to transport the weapons. Both captains insisted that no scow could be procured.

The frightened inhabitants pointed out the government storehouses, and the homes of Callbeck and of Thomas Wright, a member of the colony's Provincial Council, and a justice of the peace. Wright, according to Selman, "was the official officer swearing those men in behalf of George the 3d for Quebeck." The storehouses were locked. Having already committed many hostile acts, it is odd to find the captains hesitant about battering down doors. But, hesitate they did, while Selman dispatched a messenger to the captive in the *Franklin*.

"Send the keys to your house and the government stores," was his command, "or we will break the doors open."

Callbeck entrusted the keys to John Budd, who was released "that he might attend and open the doors of such places as should be required to be inspected into." Selman remarked that he did not want Budd's assistance and snatched the keys. Both schooners were now close in shore and more men landed. With Broughton and Selman striding ahead, they came to the largest storehouse, found the proper key, opened the door and stepped inside. It was filled with woolen goods. Broughton called in the under officers.

"Are these articles for the recruiting service?" he asked.

"Aye, that they are," was the desired and unanimous reply. So the commodore, as they now called Broughton, ordered the goods conveyed on board the schooners. He brushed aside the request of Callbeck's clerks that an inventory be made of them. From the

storehouse, they embarked upon a course of "most wanton and flagrant Outrages." Though they had keys, they broke open two more stores, taking many valuable articles and the entire stock of provisions Callbeck had laid in for his family and retainers for the winter. They continued to his home, where, having frightened Mrs. Callbeck and the servants into hysteria, they ransacked the house.

"In Mrs. Callbeck's bedroom they broke open her drawers and trunks," Callbeck complained bitterly, "scattered her clothes about, read her letters from her mother and sisters, took the bed and window curtain, bed and bedding, her rugs, bracelets and trinkets, also some of her clothes. They then took the parlour window curtains, looking-glasses, carpets and several articles of plate, and household furniture; also all the porter, rum, Geneva and wine (except one cask which they stove the head into and drank the whole out). At the same time they plundered the whole of Mrs. Callbeck's little stores of vinegar, oil, candles, fruit, sweetmeats, bacon, ham, &c."

Callbeck's office, in a little outbuilding, was next on the list. They walked off with the silver seal of the Province, the commission of the absent governor, two trunks of goods, and clothing belonging to Callbeck and his clerk. With or without the sanction of the commodore, they smashed into the home of the absent governor and took window curtains, carpets, looking glasses, bedding, wearing apparel, and the Church of England furniture which had been stored there. They broke a quantity of the governor's china, and drank what liquors he had left behind.

Thomas Wright's house came next. The counsellor, his wife and sister met them in the doorway. Wright was seized, and Broughton and his men, "with insulting language, laughed at the tears" of the women. For some unaccountable reason there was no looting. By now it was late afternoon, and the captains, with Wright a prisoner, repaired to their schooners. A small party was left ashore, who completed the reign of destruction. They broke doors and windows of the governor's and Callbeck's homes, re-entered both and finished off such liquor as previous looters had overlooked.

On board the *Franklin*, Callbeck and Wright turned upon the captains with vehement protests. No orders possibly could authorize

such outrages. Broughton produced his orders and read them aloud in justification. Callbeck insisted these did not direct a visit to St. John, and contained particular cautions not to abuse private property. Seeing these pleas unheeded, the captives resorted to emotional appeals. They urged the cruelty of taking them away and, while certain of liberation by General Washington, it would be almost impossible to get back to the island before winter set in. Callbeck spoke feelingly of the destitute situation in which his wife would find herself; of the likelihood that servants would pilfer what remained and blame it on the rebels; and of the eighty colonists lately arrived, who would perish for lack of provisions.

"Governor Colbeck and Wright intercession to be restored to their families," reported Selman, "had worked up the human pashions in the breast in their behalf."

Selman demanded that no consideration be shown, remarking that the inhabitants had sent expresses throughout the island, and that it behooved the *Hancock* and the *Franklin* to set sail. Broughton overruled him. Callbeck and Wright, upon their oath to return on board, were permitted to go ashore for the night. To Selman's surprise both returned in the morning. Another effort then to convince the captains of the gross injustice and infamy of carrying them away had no effect. Callbeck pled, as had his clerks the day before, for an inventory of the goods taken. Broughton and Selman had compiled their own lists, and meagre they were compared to the actual loot.

They made sail that morning and stood out of the bay, heading for the Gut of Canso. Off the town of Canso, when the schooners dropped anchor for the night of November 19, Callbeck and Wright renewed their pleas to be released. If they could win freedom and be set ashore at Canso, the problem of getting back to Charlottetown before winter descended would not be difficult. Once carried beyond Nova Scotia, return before spring would be problematical. They labored with Broughton and Selman "all in their power to convince them of their not having, in any respect, conformed to their instructions or orders." Again they urged the cruelty of taking them from their families. Selman replied that he would never consent to their return. Wright lost his temper.

"If we come across a British frigate," he flared, "I will have you hung to the yard arm."

"I'll venture that," Selman retorted. His later reasons for dragging Callbeck and Wright from their island had all the earmarks of an afterthought. They wanted to break up the recruiting business, and to have the two men as hostages "to redeem Montgomery or some other of his army provided he met with defeat on the walls of Quebeck." So, perforce, the pair remained captives, and Callbeck's anguish grew as various pieces of his silver plate were seen "in the custody of the common people." [5]

Dawn disclosed a number of vessels at anchor in Canso road, mostly fishermen about ready to sail for home at the close of the season. A Mr. Benney, collector of customs at Canso during the fishing season, was a passenger in one of them, and recorded how alarming was the sight of the rebel vessels, "armed with four four pounders, and two Six, twelve Swivel Guns, eighty Men each, armed with Pistols each, and a Tomihawk or a Cutlass." As Broughton and Selman were athwart the entrance of the roadstead, escape was impossible, and the commodore ordered all masters to bring their papers on board the *Hancock*.

To these bewildered skippers, clustered in the waist, he expounded upon the reasons for his presence. To impress them the more, he intimated that he and Selman were but part of a larger fleet. There was a consort, a twenty-two-gun ship, lying between Canso and St. John, said he. Broughton's interpretation of his instructions, as delivered to the assembled shipmasters, would have astounded Washington.

They were acting, he announced, "by orders from General Washington in consequence of the Resolves of Congress not to suffer any lumber or other Supply's to be carried to any part of the West Indies or other Dominions of Great Britain, but to France and Spain yes. They were not to permit any sort of Things to be sent Boston, but to take all Vessels bound thither." They had already taken "22 sail of trading and other vessels!" After that, he and Selman inspected the papers. All but one of the vessels were loaded with fish and destined for various ports of Nova Scotia or Newfoundland. The exception was a large schooner of 170 tons burden, with forty tubs of butter and some dry goods from England for Charlottetown. This vessel Broughton seized and manned, and her owner, a Mr. Higgins, he took on board the *Hancock*. The others he dismissed.

It was high time to end the cruise. Winter setting in, provisions running out, and general discontent on board were sufficient reasons to turn homeward. Keeping the prize schooner with them, they coasted southwestward, veering due south well off shore until they had passed Halifax, and then steering for Cape Sable, at the lower tip of Nova Scotia. Off that cape on November 26 the seventh and last prize was taken, the brig *Kingston Packet*, Samuel Ingersol, master. She had just come out of the harbor of Barrington when they happened by. Her cargo was dried fish, packed in hogsheads; her destination Cape François, Hispaniola, in the West Indies. Broughton interpreted her presence in Nova Scotian waters as a breach of the Continental Association, as her owner was Richard Derby of Salem. He manned her and directed the prizemaster to keep him company.

While some prisoners had been sent off in various prizes, a number, including Callbeck, Wright and Higgins, were held in the *Hancock* and the *Franklin*. These, with the American crewmen, brought the total on board close to the seventy men each who had comprised the original complements. Quarters were cramped. More serious was inadequate provisions. Despite occasional supplies Broughton and Selman had helped themselves to, there was insufficient food to feed crews and prisoners during a passage, against contrary winds, to Beverly. Therefore, from Cape Sable they beat across the mouth of the Bay of Fundy, and, as November neared an end, dropped anchor off Winter Harbor, now known as Fortune's Rock, lying between Cape Porpoise and Biddeford Pool in the Massachusetts province of Maine.

John Lewis, an officer of the *Hancock*, with seven armed men and fourteen prisoners, including Callbeck, Wright and Higgins, were put ashore and started their march down the coast for Portsmouth. The *Kingston Packet* and the schooner were left at Winter Harbor, and Broughton and Selman sailed for home. That there could be anything but high praise awaiting them for their achievements seemed never to have entered their heads.[6]

Regardless of what Washington might have to say to them, however, these two worthies had spread consternation throughout Nova Scotia. His Majesty's Governor at Halifax took cognizance of the rebels, who had "traitorously and illegally seized and made prizes

of vessels the property of his loyal subjects of this Province," and particularly because "of late two armed vessels have appeared off Canso." Although he had not then heard of what had happened on St. John, the governor, "with the advice and consent of his Majesty's Council," thereupon declared martial law "to be of full force within this Province. . . . God save the King." [7]

CHAPTER SIX

Manley Takes the "Nancy"

AFTER SAILING from Plymouth on November 4 John Manley cruised in Massachusetts Bay. His patrol stretched from Cape Ann to Cape Cod to Jeffrey's Ledge, and frequently close in towards the lighthouse. Several times he ventured into Nahant Bay to observe, beyond Deer Island, the tops of Admiral Graves's fighting ships riding in Boston harbor. Of inward- or outward-bound transports or provision vessels he saw nothing. Monotony ended on the third day, when, off Eastern Point, the swift *Lee* overhauled the sloop *Ranger*, whose master, William McGlathery, reported himself bound for Gloucester with firewood. The sloop's course being in the opposite direction aroused Manley's suspicions. A boarding officer found a British midshipman and six hands in control. The *Ranger*'s master, at pistol-point, had been compelled to answer as he had. The sloop had been taken off Piscataqua a few days before by the frigate *Cerberus*, and ordered for Boston. The prize crew was removed, and the *Ranger* sent into Marblehead.

Continuing in the vicinity of Eastern Point, on November 8 Manley spied a large schooner under Misery Island making, apparently, for Beverly; either a friendly vessel striving to reach port, or a stranger to the coast. He surmised the latter, and started to overhaul her. The pursuit had been observed in Beverly. Fifteen inhabitants piled into a fishing boat and rowed out to intercept the schooner. They boarded her and, as the *Lee* drew alongside, leered across the bulwarks, boasting that the prize was theirs. She was the *Two Sisters*, from Ireland for Boston, with provisions "all much wanted for the Butchering Assassins there." Manley drew off and stood seaward. A dispute then would be pointless. Later he would lodge his claim with his Excellency.

His Majesty's six-gun schooner *Hinchinbrook*, cruising in the bay, that afternoon chased the *Lee* back into Beverly harbor. Venturing forth anew on November 9, Manley sighted a fleet under convoy for Boston. He stretched across the bay in pursuit, but the convoying ship, the frigate *Lively*, of twenty guns, drove him off. Through the night he hovered astern, but the frigate protected her charges—transports with wood from Penobscot—safely into Boston harbor.

At daybreak, about three miles east of Boston lighthouse, he came upon a small schooner loaded with lumber. Her master claimed he was bound for Newburyport but, lacking a pilot, had lost his bearings. Manley was suspicious. Although a passenger on board corroborated the master's story, he escorted the schooner into Marblehead. Jonathan Glover agreed that his Excellency would have to determine whether she was a legitimate prize. Master, passenger, and the *Lee*'s sailing master were sent to Cambridge to present the case.

The Beverly inhabitants, who had seized the *Two Sisters* under Manley's nose, had repulsed William Bartlett's efforts to take charge of her. The agent, who wanted "to live in peace with all men," asked for instructions. If he had no power to seize vessels thus brought in, he did not wish "to appear rediculous in the eye of the world." Learning of the *Lee*'s arrival at Marblehead, he sent for her captain. Manley arrived in a belligerent mood. He wanted to seize the schooner and turn her over to the agent. Bartlett counseled against any violent measures, and persuaded the captain and his officers to draw up their claim to be forwarded to headquarters.[1]

Back again at Marblehead, Manley was detained in port for a few days "by the badness of the weather." During this enforced period of idleness, he learned that Jonathan Glover and William Bartlett had decided to pool their interests as agents. They entered into an agreement to act jointly, have all commissions "hove into one stock," and divide the proceeds equally. Their most perplexing problem revolved around three prizes sent in by Broughton and Selman. Two had arrived at Marblehead—the schooners *Mary* and *Prince William*—and the sloop *Phoebe* had reached Beverly. Their papers gave no hints as to why they had been taken. Lieutenant Devereaux, prizemaster of the *Prince William*, and Sergeant Doak

of the *Phoebe* were sent off to Cambridge to explain matters to Washington.[2]

When Manley finally sailed about November 20, winter was coming on apace. Days were black and cold. Ice formed on shrouds and ratlines as spray swept through them, and in the scuppers whenever a wave spilled across the schooner's low bulwarks. The little *Lee* was a staunch sailer and tight in the seams, hence livable if not comfortable below deck. Her patrol bore no fruit for seven wretched days. On November 27 she intercepted the sloop *Polly*, of eighty tons burden, working in towards the Boston ship channel. Manley found her "in the Ministerial service" from Nova Scotia with turnips and some Spanish-milled dollars as cargo. He removed master and mate and sent her for Beverly.

Twenty-four hours later high success rewarded John Manley's persistent cruising. Towards dusk on November 28 a sail was spied to windward, apparently bound for Boston. The *Lee* lay athwart her course, and the captain kept his glass upon her. She was a brig, a large one, and seemingly armed. What appeared to be a gun protruded over the port rail amidships. The oncoming vessel herself solved the problem of how to board her by laying her sails aback and fluttering out a string of signal flags. She had mistaken him for a pilot boat! Eight men, arms concealed, dropped into the *Lee*'s little cockleshell boat, and rowed to her through a sea less boisterous than in previous days. Her master, who had been battling thick weather and heavy gales off the coast for three weeks of futile effort to reach port, gave a warm welcome to the presumed pilot. Then the other men, hangers drawn and pistols cocked, clambered aboard. Surprise was complete, and no resistance was attempted.

They were in possession of the ordnance transport *Nancy*, a 250-ton brig, Robert Hunter, master. How rich was the haul, Manley learned when he boarded her and received an invoice of military stores which made his eyes bulge. The *Nancy* had been loaded with a tremendous arsenal in the Thames during July and August, and had cleared Gravesend for Boston early in September. Well aware of the importance of placing her precious cargo safely in his Excellency's hands, he sent his ablest men to replace the British crew. Both vessels stood northward, out of that dangerous area, for the

Nancy had been taken "within sight of the fleet in Boston." They intended for Beverly, but prevailing winds forced them eastward. After a tense night's passage, they ran in around Eastern Point, and early Wednesday morning, November 29, anchored in Gloucester harbor.[3]

Manley dispatched an express with the *Nancy*'s invoice to William Bartlett at Beverly, and applied to the Committee of Safety for a guard to escort the prisoners to headquarters. He asked also for a strong force to protect the prize from looting, or a possible British attempt to retake her. One of the military companies raised in July to protect the Massachusetts seacoast had a platoon stationed in Gloucester under Sergeant John Coles. The balance of the company, under Captain Joseph Whipple, lay at Manchester, a hamlet a few miles to the westward. Coles commanded the detachment, "fourteen Prisoners & Guard," which started for Cambridge. The rest of Whipple's company marched in from Manchester. Although the water front by then was a seething mass of excited inhabitants, Manley did not remain for the plaudits. With fresh water on board, and the prize crew returned from the *Nancy*, the *Lee* sailed out of the harbor that afternoon.[4]

Some thirty miles off Boston on December 1 he intercepted the ship *Concord*, of three hundred tons burden, James Lowrie, master. She was from Scotland in a long passage of ten weeks and five days from the Clyde. Invoices listed a cargo of drygoods and coal shipped by Crawford, Anderson and Company of Greenock, and consigned to James Anderson, merchant of Boston. Manley's orders were specific; only vessels in employ of government were to be seized. Under strict interpretation, the *Concord*, in private employ, would be exempt from capture. Her cargo, however, consisted of goods that would give comfort and aid to the enemy. He delved deeper into her papers and found numerous letters breathing enmity to all rebels, and several hinting at future employment by "the general and admiral." The *Concord* certainly was suspect, so he put a prizemaster on board and escorted her into Marblehead harbor. Jonathan Glover came off, received the invoices, papers and "a vast number of letters," and ordered the prizemaster to carry her around to Beverly.[5] Turning into the latter harbor, the ship ran aground, but received no serious damage. This mishap, however,

solved the problem of her cargo. To get her off, she had to be lightened of all items in her valuable inventory, save the coal.

Had Admiral Graves's frigates appeared off Gloucester between November 30 and December 3, they would have met with a warm reception. But the Admiral, who had heard by December 1 of the capture of the *Nancy*, did nothing, because he had convinced himself that that place was inaccessible. He had made "diligant Enquiries about Marblehead and Cape Ann Harbours," and had learned both were strongly fortified. Moreover, as he informed General William Howe, "at Cape Anne the outer Road is foul, narrow and greatly exposed, and a Ship once into the inner Road cannot get out again without a leading Wind." This was in reply to Howe's fears for "the Safety of the Vessels expected with Stores, Provisions and Forage from all Parts," and was written a few days before the *Nancy* had been taken. Howe believed both Marblehead and Cape Ann should be bottled up. Knowing Howe had no spare troops, the Admiral put his tongue in his cheek, and submitted to that gentleman's consideration whether he "could not with a thousand Men seize, and keep Possession of the Peninsula of Cape Ann." His attitude much disgusted one British officer, who protested that "for some time past he has never sent a single ship to cruise off Cape Ann because the Rebels have some cannon mounted upon it."

In reporting to the British Admiralty, Graves found ample excuses for the loss of the ordnance brig. The recent tempestuous weather had ruined "all the Ships cruizing on the Coast at this Season." He had kept his cruisers out, "though at a great Risque," to protect transports, victuallers and storeships, "but notwithstanding our utmost endeavours to the contrary," the *Nancy* had been taken. "It is much to be lamented," he wrote, "that a cargo of such Consequence, should be sent from England in a Vessel destitute of Arms even to protect her from a Row Boat."

Ignorance and obstinacy of masters of merchant ships in disobeying signals probably had prevented the brig from keeping with her convoy, and too often this was by design, "which I greatly fear has been the Case of this Brig." He had been told that the pilot,

"who I hear is an American, has either betrayed the Master or enticed him to go with the Promise of great Reward."

"Their Lordships well know the Situation of this Coast in the Winter," he explained, "the prevailing Winds SE and NW, hard Gales each way, and with the former thick Weather, Rain, Snow and Ice without a friendly Port to push for except Boston, the Entrance of which is narrow and dangerous." His cruisers had been greatly harrassed, indeed, by these discourteous elements, but he assured their Lordships that he was doing all that was possible.

General Howe was not so sure that was true. He seemed to doubt Graves's contentions, but had to accept the Admiral's decisions. While Howe did not know just how the *Nancy* had been lost, "so many artifices have been practised upon strangers, under the appearance of friendship, false pilots, &c. that those coming out with stores of any kind cannot be put too much upon their guard." The capture of the *Nancy*, he advised Lord Dartmouth, "is rather unfortunate for us, as they are now furnished with all the requisites for setting the town on fire, having got a large quantity of round carcasses and other stores, with which they could not have been otherwise supplied." To that could be added the loss of the *Concord*, whose cargo of woolen goods and clothing, the General said, "must afford great relief" to the rebels.

One of Howe's subordinates agreed that "we are likely to be complimented with the contents" of the *Nancy*'s lading. Less pessimistic was another, who imagined the enemy "will be glad to keep Tom Fool's bargain, as we are much superior in point of artillery." There was general agreement on one point—the differences between Howe and Graves had risen to heights where "the Admiral treats the military with great contempt." This animosity probably accounts for the lampoon then current in Boston that Graves, "instead of sending his squadron to protect storeships and transports from England, has, with the utmost prudence, ordered the ships-of-war in this harbour to be secured with booms all around, to prevent their being boarded and taken by rebel whale-boats."

It was really quite bad. Graves had five cruisers under orders "to go into Cape Anne and Marblehead Harbours, and if possible destroy or cut out every Vessel they find there." But, in the next breath he remarked that he had "no Hope of their succeeding."

News that the *Concord* had been taken almost on top of the arrival of the *Nancy* at Gloucester, seemed to climax his discomfiture. "In a few words our navy has never made so disgraceful a figure," howled one critic. "If our sea commander is not Speedily recalled no service can be expected from our fleet." [6]

CHAPTER SEVEN

Washington's Hopes Are Realized

DESPITE ABLE ASSISTANCE from Stephen Moylan, who took over where Joseph Reed had left off, Washington found the requirements of his naval venture exacting more and more time and attention. The advanced season and difficulties in procuring cannon determined him to fit out no more than the six vessels already commissioned. With chances of prize-taking growing less as winter closed in, it was urgent that all six be kept cruising. The British seemed content to confine themselves within their lines, and a council of war had "adjudged it impractical to get at them." Hence, his Excellency felt his armed vessels offered the only possible offensive action.

Something far more aggressive was proposed, however, by a crackpot sent by Congress. John Macpherson, Esquire, was the elderly newcomer, who arrived in Cambridge heralded by the credulous John Adams as "a Genius—an old Sea Warrior, Nine or ten Times wounded in Sea Fights." Macpherson had invented, as he modestly admitted, "a method by which he would take or destroy every Ministerial armed Vessel in North America"; a very large order, indeed. He would disclose this method only to a committee of Congress pledged to secrecy. Three earnest delegates had listened to his plan, which, from their inexperience, they thought "in theory appeared practicable." The British squadron in Boston harbor being the largest assembly of vessels on the coast, and its destruction being "an object of the utmost importance," Congress dispatched Macpherson to Washington, who would determine when, if and how the enemy fleet should be annihilated.[1]

For eight painful days, after first laying himself under a bond of secrecy, Washington wrestled with Macpherson and his inven-

tion. The secret was well kept. What the scheme involved has never been disclosed. Washington was positive it could not succeed and would require a far greater expense than was warranted. With the rare courtesy for which he was noted, and because the visitor came under the auspices of Congress, he induced Macpherson to communicate the method to three ordnance officers, all "well versed in the knowledge and practice of gunnery." These three, having taken the secrecy pledge, listened and turned thumbs down, trying to convince the inventor that, "as he set out upon wrong principles, the scheme would prove abortive." Unconvinced, but bowing to the decision, Macpherson proposed building a number of galleys. Washington explained that such an undertaking needed authorization by Congress. Undaunted, Macpherson wanted to build them at his own expense in advance of such approval. He was finally eased off on November 8 to make his proposal to Congress in Philadelphia.

At his desk by candlelight that evening, his Excellency was relaxing with a chatty letter to Joseph Reed. He had been happy to convince Macpherson, he commented drily, "on the propriety of returning." At this point, Lieutenant Henry Champion of the *Harrison* was ushered into the room, with the letter telling of Coit's two prizes at Plymouth. Washington seemed to have difficulty reading, so the obliging Champion picked up a candlestick and, with an awkward flourish, illuminated the page. Tallow dripped all over the letter to Colonel Reed. His Excellency kept his temper, and penned a postscript: "I had just finished my letter when a blundering lieutenant of the blundering Captain Coit, who had just blundered upon two vessels from Nova Scotia, came in with the account of it, and before I could rescue my letter, without knowing what he did, picked up a candle and sprinkled it with grease; but these are the kinds of blunders which one can readily excuse." [2]

The prizes at Plymouth and a wood sloop which Winborn Adams, in the *Warren*, had sent into Portsmouth, "point out the necessity of establishing proper courts without loss of time for the decision of property and the legality of seizures," Washington emphasized that same day to Congress. Otherwise, he could see himself involved in inextricable difficulties. Coit's prizes at Plymouth clearly were

legitimate. William Watson was instructed to sell all livestock and perishables, and hold the vessels until further orders. Masters and crews, along with Jabez Hatch, that "noted Tory," arrived at Cambridge and were sent to the Massachusetts Council, which could "do with the Prisoners as to them shall seem proper."

News that the *Harrison*'s crew had refused to do further duty infuriated Washington. "Our rascally privateersmen go on at the old rate, mutinying if they cannot do as they please," he wrote to Joseph Reed.[3] He consented to letting Coit discharge all Connecticut soldiers who would not obey orders, and enlisting other hands, as the "only chance there is of taking any prize is his being out at this time." Moylan advised Watson, "For God's sake indulge him, and if he has misinformed his Excellency about getting the men, let us know it immediately."

In similar vein Moylan commented that while he knew of no need for a drum and fife on board the *Washington*, and none of the other armed schooners had them, yet, "if it will give Capt. Martindale any pleasure," he should be indulged. His Excellency was still appprehensive, he added, that this ambitious captain "is going upon too large a Scale . . . but I sincerely hope his Success will Amply Repay the Expense." Then Ephraim Bowen arrived at Cambridge with the reassuring word that both the *Harrison* and the *Washington* were ready to sail, Coit having recruited practically a new crew, and Martindale finding everything on board to his complete satisfaction. His Excellency's impatience grew until news came that the pair had gone out together on November 23.

First intimation that Broughton and Selman might not be executing the mission he had sent them upon came with the arrival at Cambridge of Lieutenant Devereaux and Sergeant Doak with the papers relating to the prizes they had brought in. Until that time Washington had been confident, as he told Congress, that his captains would "meet with the stores inward or outward bound." Now, Broughton's letter, delivered by Doak, filled him with misgivings. He directed Moylan to instruct Bartlett to lay up the *Phoebe* at Beverly, and Jonathan Glover to do the same with the schooners at Marblehead. The latter was advised to discharge his crews "on condition they can get bondsmen for their not leaving

Marblehead . . . lest they give information to the enemy of the destination of Captains Broughton and Selman."

Two more of this pair's questionable prizes arrived; one at Gloucester, the sloop *Speedwell*; the other, the sloop *Warren*, at Stonington, Connecticut. Contrary winds had driven her so far out to sea that she could not beat back around Cape Cod. Her prize-master reached headquarters on November 26 with her papers and the second of Broughton's letters. By now Washington doubted the legality of any of the prizes taken by his senior captains. The *Speedwell*'s papers were studied and Moylan wrote to the Stonington Committee of Safety asking it to investigate "into the Case of the Sloop Warren." [4]

Decisions had to be made also upon the three prizes Manley had sent into Marblehead, the wood sloop that Winborn Adams had carried into Portsmouth, and Bartlett's quandary regarding the *Two Sisters* at Beverly. The latter's rebuff in attempting to take possession of that schooner led Washington to consider it wise to avoid involvement in any prizes except those actually taken by his own armed vessels. Moylan wrote, at Washington's direction, that if Manley's claim to the *Two Sisters* was a just one, it should be prosecuted, but "if it is not very apparent dont you trouble yourself or the General with a litiguous dispute."

The wood sloop at Portsmouth, Washington adjudged a friendly vessel, and ordered it discharged. Similarly, the schooner with lumber, taken by Manley near the lighthouse, was given a clean bill of health, although "as she was in a suspicious place," there was no blame in sending her in. The sloop *Ranger* was adjudged a recapture, and Jonathan Glover was instructed to arrange for what salvage should be paid Manley. Only the sloop *Polly*, "in the ministerial service," was a clear-cut case of a legitimate prize, although not a very valuable one.

With agents instructed to lay up six captured vessels—three in Marblehead, two in Plymouth, and one in Beverly—his Excellency became more and more disturbed at the lack of a maritime court. The Massachusetts General Court in early November had enacted legislation respecting captures made by vessels fitted out by that province or by individual residents. But, as Washington pointed out to Congress, the vessels fitted out at Continental expense did

not come under that law. "Should not a court be established by authority of Congress to take cognizance of prizes made by the Continental vessels?" he asked. "Whatever the mode is, which they are pleased to adopt, there is an absolute necessity of its being speedily determined on; for I cannot spare time from military affairs, to give proper attention to these matters." [5]

His Excellency's espionage system had sent word from Boston that the British were worried about the *Nancy*, a long overdue ordnance vessel. According to the grapevine of military intelligence she was unarmed, carried a cargo of brass cannon, some mortars and a great quantity of military stores. Also, the enemy believed she had fallen into rebel hands. While dubious of such good fortune, Washington ordered his "Arm'd Vessels to keep a good look out for her." He pinned his hopes on Manley or Adams, operating about Cape Ann, rather than the disconcerting pair out of Plymouth. Moylan instructed Bartlett: "If, sir, either of the armed vessels are in port, it is his Excellency's express order that they put to sea as soon as possible & keep a sharp lookout for this brigg which is without any force. If taken there will be a Noble dividend to make."

Suspense was great, with Washington hoping against hope that one of his armed schooners would find the ordnance brig and bring her in. While he waited, he answered an inquiry from Richard Henry Lee, a member of the Naval Committee at Philadelphia. Lee had asked the number and strength of his armed vessels which could be sent to Delaware Bay should Congress desire it. That anyone in Congress had enough interest in his little navy to consider adding it to the Continental fleet was flattering. But Washington wanted no misconception about the force he had created. His reply on November 27 was candid:

> At the Continental expense I have fitted out six [armed vessels], two of which are upon the cruise directed by Congress; the rest ply about Capes Cod and Ann, as yet to very little purpose. These vessels are all manned by officers and soldiers (except perhaps, a master, pilot, &c.) but how far, as they are upon the old establishment which has not more than a month to exist, they can be ordered off this station, I will not undertake to say; but suppose they might be engaged anew.

The great news came on the evening of November 29. John Manley had captured the ordnance brig! She was at Gloucester being unloaded! "Very little purpose," indeed! His Excellency could eat his words! The courier with this electrifying message was Captain Moses Brown of the seacoast company stationed at Beverly, sent "to Head Quat. Express with Brigg Nancy's Papers" by William Bartlett. As Washington leafed through the pages of the invoice of military stores his spirits rose and he was truly thankful "for the instance of Divine favour; for nothing surely ever came more apropos."

Word spread with heightening excitement throughout the army. "We are all flushed with the agreeable account," said Stephen Moylan, who was sure the *Nancy*'s cargo "could not cost short of £10,000 sterling . . . . to us it is invaluable." The invoice showed two thousand cartridge boxes with belts, two thousand muskets with bayonets, scabbards and steel ramrods, thirty-one tons of musket shot, fifty-three bags of flints for muskets, carbines and wall pieces, great quantities of artillery and laboratory stores, and a giant thirteen-inch brass mortar, with mortar bed, and three hundred shells.

Washington feared for the safety of this precious cargo should Admiral Graves learn into what port the *Nancy* had been carried. Colonel John Glover, who best knew that neighborhood, was dispatched for Gloucester to call out the militia. Major William Palfrey, one of General Charles Lee's aides, went with him to expedite the cargo to camp. They rode out of Cambridge that night.

"Last evening I received the agreeable account of the Schooner Lee, commanded by Captain Manl[e]y, having taken and carried into Cape Ann a large brigantine bound from London to Boston, laden with military stores, the inventory of which I have the pleasure to enclose you," his Excellency wrote the president of Congress in high elation on November 30. "I sincerely congratulate you on this very great acquisition."

At Beverly, William Bartlett had acted with the utmost expedition the moment the courier from Gloucester clattered into town about noon of November 29 with the *Nancy*'s invoice. The agent had skimmed the pages and had been galvanized into action. A priceless cargo of military stores lay exposed in an open roadstead.

Cambridge and the army were twenty miles away, but there were two seacoast companies—at Beverly and Salem—available for service. They marched immediately, while Captain Moses Brown set off for headquarters upon a sturdy steed whose care for the ensuing "8 Knights" would cost the Continent sixteen shillings.

Bartlett rode for Gloucester, passing the seacoast companies as they pushed on afoot: the Beverly men, thirty-eight strong, Lieutenant Jefferson Groves commanding, and the Salem company, sixty-one rank and file under Captain Benjamin Ward, Jr. The Beverly contingent halted for "Vituling and Drink" at John Allen's tavern in Manchester. Captain Ward of the Salem company was more specific. When his parched and chilled warriors arrived at Allen's, they consumed eight bowls of toddy, a bowl and a half of cherry toddy, nine mugs of grog and two glasses of cherry rum. After that they double-quicked for Gloucester.

John Allen fared well that memorable day. He caught trade in both directions, for Sergeant Coles, with his guard of seven men and fourteen prisoners, had stopped for "Vitules and Drink and Lodgin," on their way to camp. Another innkeeper, Joseph Baker in Beverly, supplied refreshments next day for Coles's detachment. The sergeant's progress was further highlighted by "21 Dinners & Drink," at Mr. Newhall's, whose location on the road to Cambridge was not disclosed.

William Bartlett reached Gloucester and found the *Nancy* alongside a wharf with Captain Whipple's company on guard. The agent engaged necessary hands to unload her, and teamsters to cart the military stores to Beverly as fast as they could be disgorged from the hold. First came the great brass mortar and its bed. With much heaving the huge weapon was lowered into a sturdy wagon, and its base into another. Both wagons were ordered to keep right through Beverly to Cambridge.

Colonel Glover and Major Palfrey arrived on the morning of November 30 to find a score of men passing ordnance stores from hold to deck, and a dozen teamsters, their carts backed upon the wharf, receiving boxes, barrels, chests and kegs as they came over the side. Glover had paused in Beverly long enough to dispatch expresses to all towns from Newburyport southward calling out the militia. While he now arranged for quartering the expected rein-

forcements, Major Palfrey consulted with Bartlett. The latter suggested that the prize sloop *Polly* be brought around to receive some of the stores. She could slip through the shallow coastal waters back to Beverly.

By noon numerous carts were moving westward loaded with seven hundred boxes of musket ball and buckshot, eighty chests of muskets and cartridge boxes, fifty kegs of flints, and fifty round carcasses, each packed in its individual box. Much more of the cargo was deposited on the wharf and later stowed in the *Polly*. Included were eleven gun carriages for 12-pounders and seven baggage wagons, all shipped in sections. Believing the risk not too great, Palfrey decided to send the *Nancy* around to Beverly under cover of the first dark night, her hold still containing loose 12- and 6-pound shot.

Militia poured in during the afternoon and night. By the morning of December 1 Colonel Glover had a major housing problem, for companies or detachments had responded from Marblehead, Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury, Newburyport, and even so far away as Bradford. Where seacoast companies were available, they had been dispatched. From inland towns came minutemen, such as Lieutenant James Todd, "in command of a detachment which marched by order of Selectmen and Committee of Safety of Rowley to guard Glocester harbour and the brig Nancy brought in by Capt. Manly." Assembled were nine full companies and sizable detachments from six more. Feeding them fell to the lot of Bartlett, who contracted with a Gloucester merchant for 3,661 pounds of beef, 1,730 pounds of bread, and ten bushels of potatoes. Additional supplies, including 985 pounds of beef, and 1,600 pounds of bread arrived from Beverly on December 2, along with thirty-six bushels of coal to keep the guardsmen warm.

Palfrey determined to store the goods—mortar excepted—at Beverly and await army wagons to continue by regular train to headquarters. He posted off from Gloucester and arrived at Beverly just after the *Concord* had run aground entering the harbor on December 3. He was in accord with Jonathan Glover's decision to unload her, and they marveled at the value of her cargo. Her hold disgorged such items as twenty-four casks of shoes, forty casks of bottled port wine, seventeen casks of bottled claret, eight pipes

and three hogsheads of bulk claret, one hundred and twenty casks of butter, and numerous bales of merchandise from handkerchiefs to writing paper.

Meanwhile, ordnance stores flowed steadily into Beverly from Gloucester, and the *Nancy* and the *Polly* arrived safely. Bartlett began the task of settling the accounts. He had received two thousand dollars from headquarters with instructions to "pay all the Charges & keep Vouchers that we may not be troubled with a Multiplicity of Accounts." Nor is it necessary to be troubled with them now, save one amusing one. Captain Ward and his Salem company, returning from Gloucester, had paused again at John Allen's. They had consumed a goodly quantity of biscuits, washing them down with eighteen mugs of flip and thirty mugs of cherry toddy. Going and coming this thirsty company cost the Continent £2.10.9.[6]

CHAPTER EIGHT

Broughton and Selman Humiliated

THE GREAT BRASS MORTAR—first visible token of John Manley's success—bulked huge and impressive upon the creaking wagon bringing it into Cambridge on December 2. Sight of it sent such universal joy throughout the camp that spectators felt "as if each grasped victory in his hand." It was fixed upon its bed in front of the Continental Laboratory. While assembled rank and file roared with glee, a ludicrous scene unfolded. Old Israel Putnam mounted the mortar, a bottle of rum in his hand, "standing parson to christen, while Godfather [Thomas] Mifflin gave it the name of CONGRESS."

"The huzzas on the occasion I dare say," exulted Stephen Moylan, "were heard through all the territories of our most gracious sovereign in this Province."

After the christening, the "R" in "G. R." was chiseled out, and a "W" struck in for George Washington. Everyone agreed that it was "the finest piece of ordnance ever landed in America," and it continued "a subject of curiosity" to visitors.[1]

Flushed with excitement over Manley's achievement, Stephen Moylan forgot for several days to acknowledge a letter from Joshua Wentworth, the New Hampshire agent, telling of another prize, the schooner *Rainbow*, John McMonagle, master. This schooner, laden with potatoes and turnips, "intended for the enemy at Boston," had been carried into Portsmouth by Winborn Adams in the *Warren*. Aside from the wood sloop sent in earlier and released, this was the first news about Adams, whose cruising ground north of Cape Ann was not proving profitable. Wentworth, however, had praised the captain's persistence despite a crew reduced by sickness to thirty-odd hands. "I assure you I do not think Adams's bon

fortune so despicable," Moylan wrote in apology for his neglect. "Though of little value to us, it is depriving the enemy of what to them would be of consequence."

Arrival at camp of the crew of the *Rainbow* under guard from Portsmouth, and Sergeant Coles with Captain Hunter and the crew of the *Nancy* from Gloucester induced his Excellency to change his instructions to his captains. Hitherto they had been directed to apply to any Committee of Safety for a guard to conduct prisoners to headquarters. Now he decided those committees should examine prisoners and "judge of the best method of disposing of them." It would save expense, time and the necessity of forwarding the captives to Watertown for examination by the Massachusetts Council. The distance was too great to return the *Rainbow*'s crew to Portsmouth, but Captain Hunter and his men were sent to Bartlett, at Beverly, with advice that they should have their private adventures restored to them, be treated "with humanity due to fellow-citizens in distress," and, if considered proper, be permitted to live on board the *Nancy* until further orders. Washington had in mind the agreement reached during the conference with the committee from Congress in October, that the crews of vessels employed merely as transports and unarmed, be set at liberty upon giving security to return to Europe. The *Nancy* was the first prize taken by Continental cruisers answering this description. All others had been Tory vessels from Nova Scotia, recaptures, or the questionable seizures made by Broughton and Selman.

Suspicions regarding two of these latter—the sloops *Phoebe* at Beverly and *Speedwell* at Cape Ann—had been verified. The former was found to be the property of James Aborn of Rhode Island, "a worthy honest man," who had upon all occasions "approved himself a sincere friend to the liberties of his country." Aborn had sent his sloop the previous spring "to the westward, to trade and fish, and to cover his interest from the enemy, made use of a friend in Nova Scotia, to whom he made a bill of sale of her."

Similar circumstances surrounded the *Speedwell*, the property of Jacob Greene and Company of Providence, in which General Nathanael Greene was a partner. His Excellency ordered the *Phoebe* delivered to Aborn and the *Speedwell* to General Greene, with special injunctions to safeguard their cargoes. His waning

faith in the success of Broughton's and Selman's mission, he voiced to Congress on December 4: "By the last accounts from the armed schooners sent to the St. Lawrence, I fear we have but little to expect. They were falling short of provisions, and mentioned that they would be obliged to return; which at this time is particularly unfortunate, as, if they chose a proper station, all the vessels coming down the river must fall into their hands."

How complete their fiasco had been, and how embarrassing and costly their conduct would be, Washington learned next day, when the prisoners coming overland from Winter Harbor arrived at Cambridge. When that weary group had passed through New Hampshire, Joshua Wentworth had supplied them with funds and sent along with them a recommendation that the two prizes left in the northern port be ordered to Portsmouth where there would be a better market for prize goods, particularly the fish in the brig *Kingston Packet*. Washington examined the papers of that vessel and found she was the property of a Salem patriot, Richard Derby. Moylan, at his direction, put the matter into the hands of the Salem Committee of Safety. Had there been, as Broughton and Selman claimed, a violation of the Continental Association? "His Excellency cannot be a competent judge of such matters," Moylan explained, and "whatever your determination will Meet the General's approbation." The committee hedged and quibbled, because if other committees should render different judgments, "it would lead to great difficulties." His Excellency was disgusted and Moylan caustic in reply. "What is the breach of the Association, or what is not, the General has not time . . . to decide upon," he snapped. "The General thinks the Officers on board the Armed Vessels have deviated from the line of their Instructions, though perhaps not from the spirit of them. . . . From this Principle which his Excellency is of opinion is a Just one, he delivers up to the owner his Vessel and Cargo." Upon the same principle, Jonathan Glover was given orders "to deliver up the vessels sent into Marblehead by Broughton and Selman to their owners." The Stonington Committee, apparently not worried about any confusions in judgments, reported it could see no reason for holding the sloop *Warren*, so another prize was discharged.

Remaining for disposal were the schooner at Winter Harbor,

with drygoods and butter from London to St. John; the governor's commission and the Provincial seal, in Broughton's possession on board the *Hancock*; and the three indignant gentlemen from Charlottetown. One of them, Philip Callbeck, placed a lengthy recital of grievances in Washington's hands. Callbeck estimated the two captains had in their custody property of his "to the amount of two thousand pounds sterling," and continued:

> To exaggerate the cruel treatment he has received is impossible, and it is equally so even to give an exact detail of the injuries they have offered to him and his property. All of his papers read, some of which were of a private nature. Although they had all his keys, his doors broken open; his effects, and the provisions and necessaries he had provided for his family's support, taken away, and wantonly destroyed; his wife left destitute of every support; not so much as a candle to burn. . . . That Mr. Callbeck and Wright, wantonly torn from their families, have been brought in a state of captivity, upwards of six hundred miles by sea . . . and since their landing have travelled one hundred and twenty miles.

Washington sent for the gentlemen and listened to their experiences. His wrath rose as their story amplified statements in the petition. He ordered their immediate release, restoration of their property, and permission to Callbeck to engage a vessel to carry them home. "I beg you will be attentive to Mr. Callbeck's goods," Stephen Moylan wrote Colonel John Glover, who was still in Marblehead. "Let him have everything that he has been so cruelly pillaged of." [2]

In the midst of the wholesale discharge of prizes and prisoners, Broughton and Selman sailed into Beverly. Washington sent for them, and while they were enroute to camp, he informed Congress of their dismal failure: "My fears, that Broughton and Selman would not effect any good purpose, were too well founded. They are returned, and brought with them three of the principal inhabitants of the island of St. John's. . . . As the captains acted without any warrant for such conduct, I have thought it but justice to discharge these gentlemen, whose families were left in the utmost distress."

Nicholson Broughton's and John Selman's days in his Excellency's naval service were numbered. Washington wanted no more of them as commanders of his armed schooners, but he was willing

to retain them in the army as it reorganized for the ensuing year. When they reached Cambridge he met them on the doorstep at headquarters, prepared to ignore the cruise. But the captains desired to talk about it; to justify their acts. He interrupted to state emphatically that he wished to hear nothing more on the subject, and wheeled upon Selman.

"Sir, will you stand in Colonel Glover's regiment?" he demanded.

"I will not, Sir," Selman snapped in return.

His Excellency turned to Broughton. "You, Sir, I understand have said you will stand. Is that true?" Broughton, vexed by the refusal to hear their story, replied tartly: "I will not stand."

Said Selman, in describing the foregoing, "Thus ended the matter relative to the cruise." [8] It ended the matter as it concerned the two captains, but not for his Excellency. He had the schooner at Winter Harbor to release, the governor's commission and the Provincial seal to return, and the costs to reckon up. An order to Higgins took care of the schooner. That gentleman could receive her at Winter Harbor and sail her home to Charlottetown. To Callbeck could be entrusted commission and seal. How much was expended on Broughton's and Selman's fruitless cruise, Washington probably never knew. Nor has it ever been figured to the penny. Most of the charges eventually found their way into William Bartlett's agency accounts. From a study of them, it is apparent that the St. Lawrence expedition cost the United Colonies in excess of £500, a considerable sum for a fiasco.[4] For Washington there was, at least, an expression of gratitude from Callbeck, who from Winter Harbor wrote with considerable floweriness:

> I should but ill deserve the generous treatment your Excellency has been pleased to show me, had I not gratitude to acknowledge so great a favour. I cannot ascribe any part of it to my own merit, but I must impute the whole to the philanthropy and humane disposition that so truly characterizes General Washington. Be so obliging, therefore, to accept of the only return in my power, that of my most grateful thanks.

Long before receipt of this letter, however, his Excellency had dismissed Callbeck, Broughton and Selman from his mind. The frustrating problem of what to do with the *Nancy* and John Manley's second big prize, the *Concord*, confronted him. Congress

so far had failed to send him a solution, although he had repeatedly requested it. While he believed the *Concord* should be considered a prize, he conceived himself "not authorized to judge a vessel coming from Britain here, with goods for a company or house in Boston." He had no doubt, "as the enemy are seizing and making prizes every day, but that reprisals should be made." However, the decision must be Congress's, not his. To assist that body to make up its mind, he sent off by express to Philadelphia every letter and paper found on board the ship. There were a vast number of the former, and, remarked Moylan, "not one that does not breathe enmity death and destruction to this fair land, G–d damn them."

Washington was more moderate. Each letter did, as Moylan said, breath enmity, but his Excellency was not given to profanity. He quoted from one, which strengthened his belief that the *Concord* and her cargo should be seized. The shipper had written to his Boston consignee to "procure a certificate from the general and admiral of the Concord's being in the government service." Washington asked Congress bluntly: "Pray what is to be done with ship and cargo? And what with the brigantine which brought the military stores?"

He was certain, he reminded Congress, "that there are many articles on board [the *Concord*] so absolutely necessary for the army, that whether she is a prize or not, we must have them." Again, he pointed out how frequently he had recommended institution of a maritime court for the trial of Continental prizes. He hoped the subject was being given consideration, "otherwise I should again take the liberty of urging it in the most pressing manner."

CHAPTER NINE

Coit's Exploits and Martindale's Capture

BETWEEN MANLEY'S brilliant successes and Broughton's and Selman's dismal failures, Washington had found little time to devote to his two armed vessels at Plymouth. Lieutenants of each had arrived at headquarters about December 1 with discouraging tales. The *Harrison* had been driven into Barnstable on Cape Cod, and was "so old and crazy as to be unfit for the service." The *Washington*, after a perfunctory cruise, was back in port, her crew having mutinied because they had "enlisted to serve in the Army and not as marines." William Watson added his comment that her people "really appear to me to be a set of the most unprincipled, abandoned fellows I ever saw."

Stephen Moylan wanted to lay up the *Harrison*, order Coit's men to camp and authorize Martindale to enlist a new crew, but Washington disagreed. The *Washington* was well fitted. She was in public service and must be sent out. If Martindale could not handle his crew, then Coit and his company should come up from Barnstable and man her. The *Lee*'s crew would make its fortune by Manley's activity, and he was sorry to think initiative was a quality "that Martindale is deficient in." Washington's final injunction for Watson was to "get her out, let the expense be what it will, and put what captain and crew you think best for the service on board of her." Then he confessed to Congress: "The plague, trouble and vexation I have had with the crews of all the armed vessels, are inexpressible. I do believe there is not on earth a more disorderly set. Every time they come into port, we hear of nothing but mutinous complaints."

Much more is known today of what was happening at Plymouth than Washington learned from his agent and the two lieutenants. Both Martindale and Coit had sailed on a cruise on November 23. John Manvide, French surgeon on board the *Washington*, kept a record which he labeled, "a Journal Commencee a L'occasion d'un Course a Bord do Brigue La Waschinton Capt. Sion Martindall." Being no seaman, the surgeon's language, no matter how free the translation, is far from nautical. They had proceeded no more than three leagues, he wrote, when they sighted a frigate and a transport, a force of "too much strength for us." Whereupon, they put back until the *Harrison* came up. Then they headed eastward, "to attempt to fight." A third vessel had joined the frigate and transport, and they were "well placed to fight us and make us prisoners." They fled with the frigate on their heels. The *Harrison* drew ahead, but the *Washington* was chased "until the black of night & perhaps far into the night." She lost pursuer and consort in the darkness. Morale on board was badly shaken, judging by Manvide's fervid, "God alone knows what will happen."[1]

The enemy vessels so frightening to the crew of the *Washington* were the frigate *Tartar*, of twenty-eight guns, and two transports, part of her convoy, laden with forage from the Bay of Fundy. The *Tartar*'s task was to see her charges safely into Boston harbor, so it is unlikely that she chased longer than to drive the rebel vessels off. While she scared Martindale into hugging the coast for twenty-four hours, she had no such effect upon Coit.

William Coit may have been a blunderer, as Washington described him, and a humorous genius, as stated in a letter from camp, but he was a courageous man as well. To venture out in the unseaworthy and aged schooner in the fall gales, and to cruise within gunshot of enemy ships-of-war indicates a temerity not to be belittled. The *Harrison*, once darkness came on, veered northward, skirting the long finger toward Alderton (now Allerton) Point, and seeking an opportunity to strike. Tribute to Coit's courage came from the enemy: from Sir William Howe. Lamenting the supineness of Admiral Graves and the audacity of rebel armed vessels, he illustrated his point thus: "A remarkable instance of daring spirit was shown . . . within a short distance of the light house, and within view of his Majesty's ships, by a schooner that

had actually taken one, and would have taken two transports loaded with forage." [2]

It happened on November 24, the day after the *Harrison* and the *Washington* had fled from the *Tartar*. Two of the *Tartar*'s convoy, a ship and a brig, had dropped anchor "within a mile of the light-house in Boston Bay." Coit found them around noon, and closed in on the brig. Her master cut her gears, topsail halyards and other lines, and "as the rebels came aboard on one side, the crew left it on the other." Finding he could not carry her off, the Connecticut captain, "leaving some lighted coals on the cabin floor," set her on fire. Then he turned his attention to the ship, but found he had best attend to his own safety.

The attack had been within view of three of his Majesty's ships. Two of these, the armed transport *Empress of Russia*, commanded by Lieutenant John Bourmaster of the navy, and the fourteen-gun sloop *Raven*, Captain John Stanhope, were anchored in the passage between Alderton shoal and Light House Island. The third, the *Phoenix*, of forty-four guns, Captain Hyde Parker, Jr., lay in Nantasket road. Bourmaster, in the armed transport, and nearest the burning brig, slipped his cables and stood out. The *Raven* got up top gallant yards and "sett all sail with studding sails on both sides." Captain Parker, unable to clear the road, sent his boats "man'd and arm'd to ye assistance."

The *Empress of Russia* and the *Raven* opened fire as they came within range. The former drew so near that Coit heard "the grape shot whistle about his ears." He thought she was a forty-four-gun ship. At such proximity, she probably looked that size to the crew of the diminutive schooner. Just in time, the *Harrison* got up her sails and slipped away unscathed. Her escape was aided by Bourmaster, who lay to while his boat's crew boarded the brig and extinguished the fire.

The *Raven* pursued for three hours, but the aged schooner showed a surprisingly clean pair of heels. "At 4 the Wind dying away we left off Chace," noted Captain Stanhope. The master's log was more specific: "the wind dieing away the privateer got off with oars." No less successfully, Coit evaded two men-of-war—the *Mercury* of twenty guns, and the *Nautilus* of sixteen—which cut him off from Plymouth next day, and forced him southward in a

long stern chase. He fled down Cape Cod Bay into Barnstable. Humorously enough, this pursuit wound up with the *Mercury* chasing the *Nautilus*, and the *Raven* firing at his Majesty's schooner *Hinchinbrook*.[3]

According to Surgeon Manvide, the *Washington* spent most of Saturday, November 25, looking for her consort. That morning they saw "two boats and one schooner" just off shore, and "made sail to overtake them." Lieutenant Turner boarded, and "found their papers in good order." Still looking for Coit, Martindale sent Turner in the brig's boat "east about two leagues." The lieutenant spoke two vessels loaded with wood, and gave them convoy. As he was back on board in three hours, and Manvide could watch the wood vessels enter Plymouth harbor, it is apparent the brig was in no place of peril. Martindale weighed and ventured seaward. "We have seen one frigate which wished to engage us," the surgeon recorded, "but she did not choose to follow us, and she has taken two little fishing schooners, which permitted us to run within some nearby port." So they returned to the same anchorage. A biting west wind with much snow caused them to "pass a very bad night outside." Sunday morning they came in, dropping anchor at the entrance to Plymouth harbor to ride out the gale.

The storm was a freakish one, with snow, hail, rain and lightning. Bolts of the latter struck the transport *Jupiter*, last of the *Tartar*'s convoy, as she was coming into Boston Bay, and the eighty-ton sloop *Britannia*, Joseph Hall, master, in her company. The *Jupiter*'s cargo of hay ignited and she went up in a roaring, scorching flame. The *Britannia* did not catch fire, but the lightning so disabled her rigging that she made for the nearest land, which happened to be the Gurnet, where the *Washington* lay. Again Lieutenant Turner went off in the brig's boat, and, wrote Manvide, "One hour after noon our ship's boat returned on board with a vessel of nearly 80 tons full of wood, hay, cheese, potatoes, turnips, cabbage, eggs, ducks, and other foods, but all of very little value." The surgeon went on shore with Martindale to turn the *Britannia* over to William Watson. So little did he understand procedure with captured

vessels, that he expected they would be paid prize money at once. Much disillusioned, he returned on board.[4]

The *Washington* sailed on Tuesday morning, November 28, "in the hope to see again our enemy's vessels," as Manvide put it. "We had not made this day more than three leagues, the winds were against us, and we were obliged to return to the entrance of the port." Plymouth certainly was a magnet! That night was a vicious one—strong winds and snow—but the breeze in the morning was right for a cruise in the bay. "As we were getting ready to go to Cape Hand [Ann]," wrote the surgeon, "our entire crew revolted." How Martindale handled the mutiny is an indication of that deficiency in qualifications Washington had feared. The surgeon's journal continues the sorry tale: "We asked them what they wanted to go to work again. But they were not willing to do any thing. After a conference we decided to send a messenger to camp, the first lieutenant, Mr. Moses Turner, to inform General Washington of this evil conduct. He left here this evening and we hope that he will return tomorrow evening." Next morning the unruly crew condescended to take the brig into Plymouth harbor.

Down on the cape, meanwhile, William Coit, having sent Lieutenant Champion for Cambridge with an account of their cruise, made repairs to the *Harrison*. Coit had no intention of ending her career without another foray on the way back to Plymouth. He might damn his schooner for her crankiness, but he was loathe to part with her. Perhaps her idiosyncracies coincided with his own. He sailed out of Barnstable on November 29 with a crew of forty-three officers and men. Well out in the bay, he ran across and seized a schooner, the *Thomas*. Her master protested. She was from Fayal, bound to Salem with a cargo of wine, the property of Richard Derby of the latter port. This was the second Derby vessel to fall afoul of Washington's cruisers. Coit, emulating Broughton, insisted she was a legitimate capture. He put a prize crew on board and kept her in company.

Of greater importance—although of little monetary value—was another capture, a small fishing schooner, taken northeast of Plymouth on December 1. She was an insignificant craft, about fifteen tons burden, with barely enough gear to navigate her, and some weatherbeaten and rotten sailcloth clinging to her masts. But on

board were four Tory pilots—each well acquainted with the Massachusetts coast—waiting to carry transports into Boston harbor. The schooner was nameless; her master, Jeremiah Downey, one of the pilots. Coit placed all four in irons, and the *Harrison*, with her two prizes, stood into Plymouth.[5]

That night Coit notified Watson that he intended to make another cruise. The agent found the crew "content and well," but his Excellency had said "no." The Connecticut men were returned to their regiment. The four Tory pilots went off under guard for Cambridge, and Coit received a "dressing down" for the seizure of the *Thomas*. It "was not the intention of the Continent to interrupt good citizens in their trade," Moylan informed him. On that note, the blundering but jovial William Coit severed connections with his Excellency's navy.

Sion Martindale's men, still mutinous, remained in the *Washington*. They would neither sail nor vacate. Upon return of Lieutenant Turner with Washington's orders to get her to sea, Watson repaired on board. He went, said he, to inquire "into the cause of the uneasiness among the people." Why he had not visited her before is incomprehensible! At any rate, he learned that the only thing troubling the crew was lack of proper clothing for winter cruising. The agent's astonishment at the moderation of the demand was only exceeded by the celerity with which he fulfilled it. By morning he had them clad. This, with some warm weather and news of Manley's capture of the *Nancy*, "had a very happy influence on the minds of the people." Word of the fabulous value of the cargo of the ordnance brig certainly had boosted morale. With improved weather and the sun shining, the sea no longer bore a somber aspect to the Rhode Islanders. It had taken on the golden hue of opportunity.

The subsequent claim that they sailed because they feared the wrath of Washington, who otherwise "would have hanged them as traitors to America," was a British canard.[6] Officers and men were now determined to go to sea, the quicker to lay hands on prize money such as was making wealthy their compatriots out of Beverly. There were eighty of them: Martindale, Lieutenants Moses Turner and James Childs, Surgeon Manvide, whose journal had ended on December 1, Consider Howland, master, Jacob Tyler,

master's mate, William Ford, pilot, and seventy-three petty officers, seamen, landsmen, marines and boys. On Sabbath morning, December 3, the warmly clad crew shouted farewells as the *Washington*, most heavily armed of his Excellency's little fleet, stood forth from Plymouth harbor. Six men left behind sick mourned the ill-luck depriving them of a chance to make a fortune.

His Majesty's frigate *Fowey*, George Montagu commanding, a sixth-rater of twenty guns and 130 men, was cruising in Massachusetts Bay. She had sailed from Nantasket on November 28, and at four o'clock on Monday afternoon, December 4, was standing on a northeasterly course, Cape Ann some twelve leagues distant. The weather had been moderate but was turning foul with strong gales blowing. A few hours earlier Captain Montagu had spoken and compared notes with Captain Thomas Bishop of his Majesty's frigate *Lively*, another sixth-rater, on a similar quest for rebel armed vessels.

The *Lively* was hull down astern when the *Fowey*'s masthead lookout hailed the deck with a call of "sail to leeward." Montagu's glass picked her out through the hazy, rain-swept air—a brig which was trying to avoid him, so, "at 3/4 past 4 bore away and gave Chase." The frigate had been carrying double-reefed main and mizzen topsails. Now she set the foretopsail as well and let out a reef. She gained, but not rapidly enough. Montagu ordered out the second reef in the maintopsail. By half past five o'clock, with night descending apace, the *Fowey*, within gunshot, fired a single warning 6-pounder. As she drew nearer she opened up with several more guns. It took eight shots to bring the brig to. The sea was too turbulent to venture out a boat. The wind carried away any replies to repeated hails. The *Fowey*, handing her topsails, lay to as close to her quarry as prudent. At ten o'clock the *Lively*, having heard the gunfire, came up. The two frigates rode out the night with eyes and guns trained on the wallowing prize.

The brig was the *Washington*, less than thirty-six hours out of Plymouth, and caught flat-footed without even firing a shot. In the light of her prompt surrender, it is humorous to read the account kept by a diarist in Boston, who had heard that she "was overpowered by their greater force, but not before they had every

officer on board killed, and all the men to eighteen." [7] To Martindale and his hapless crew, it was perhaps the most miserable night they had ever spent, with the ominous muzzles of 6-pounders silhouetted occasionally in the bright light of the *Fowey*'s and *Lively*'s open gunports. Theirs was the first armed vessel to fall into British hands, and not a man in the brig but had heard of enemy threats to hang all rebels taken in arms on the high seas as pirates and traitors. What then must have been the despair of two of the *Washington*'s hands—deserters from his Majesty's navy.

With dawn the weather moderated. Montagu hoisted out his cutter and sent on board the brig. It returned with Martindale and several other officers, and the British captain learned that his prize "proved the Washington of 6, six Pounders, 4 Four pdrs, having 10 Swivells & Seventy-four Men." He placed a prize crew on board, while boats ferried the prisoners across to the *Fowey*, to be unceremoniously thrust into the main hold. Two English seamen, impressed by Martindale at Plymouth, entered on board the frigate. With a hold full of rebels and the brig in company, Montagu sailed for Boston. Pursuit had carried him so far to sea that, at noon, Cape Ann was eighteen leagues off to the northwest. With winds out of the southwest, they had to beat across the bay, so they did not enter the Boston ship channel until December 7, and moored a third of a mile off Long Wharf.

Martindale was brought before Admiral Graves. In the British Admiralty records is a paper entitled "Intelligence collected from the Captain of the Brig Washington." According to it, Martindale confirmed the capture of the *Nancy* and her arrival in Cape Ann harbor, where part of her cargo had been "Conveyed to the Headquarters of the Rebel Army at Cambridge." He also described the *Harrison*, and disclosed the signals to "know each other." Colors were the same as his own, which had been turned over to Graves, "a Green Pine Tree in a White Field, with the Motto 'Appeal to Heaven!'" "Beverly has fitted out three Schooners," the intelligence ended inaccurately. "Two are of four Carriage Guns each Swivels and Men not known, the third is the Schooner . . . commanded by Manley."

With knowledge of the signals, and with the capture of the *Washington* as yet unknown to the rebels, Graves believed by "put-

ting a good Crew into her from the King's Ships and sending her to Sea directly we should lay hold of her Comrade or some other of the Rebel Cruizers." He assigned Lieutenant George Dawson to command her. The latter repaired on board, examined the brig, and returned with the flat statement that it was "highly dangerous to Venture so many Lives in her." Doubting the truth of this, Graves ordered three of his Majesty's captains to take their carpenters and survey her. Their conclusions bore out Dawson's report. Said the carpenters:

> The whole of the Timber under the Deck—Rotten and totally decayed.
> The Main Beam and foremast Beam decayed.
> The Ceiling forward very bad.
> The Main Deck totally decayed.
> The Bowsprit sprung in two places.
> And we are of opinion that the Hull in the present State is not fit for Sea.

Reported the three captains:

> The Canon and Carriages totally unserviceable, The Small Arms many of them broke, and all out of repair.
> And we are of opinion that she is unfit for war.

And this was the vessel Martindale had advised his Excellency was "very suitable for the business." Graves subsequently inspected the brig and was satisfied that "she exceeds their description of her badness." So the *Washington* ended her career rotting beside Tileston's wharf.[8]

The Admiral was much intrigued to find that Martindale and his lieutenants were army officers and were cruising "under instructions from General Washington." General Howe thought it curious enough to enclose a copy of the captain's instructions for Lord Dartmouth's information. Seventy members of the crew of the *Washington* were transferred to the frigate *Tartar*, Captain Edward Medows, on December 12. The two British deserters were sent to the *Preston* "to be tried by a court martial." Rumor had it that all prisoners on the *Tartar* were headed for Great Britain "for trial as Pirates." Graves would have arraigned them on the spot, but there was "no Commission in Boston to try persons Guilty of Acts of Rebellion or High Treason Committed on the High Seas." He

thereupon decided to send them to England, where the Lords of the Admiralty could determine their fate. General Howe, for once concurring with a Graves decision, had a different reason. He believed the uncertainty of their fate might cause others to think twice before embarking in privateers.

With the crew of the *Washington* crammed in the main hold, and a heavy guard at the hatchway, the *Tartar* sailed on December 15. Not all of the captured crew, however, were as willing to give up as had been the brig's officers. Two or three days out, Israel Potter of Cranston, Rhode Island, a thrice-wounded veteran of Bunker Hill, plotted with others to rise and take the frigate. They would "undoubtedly have succeeded, as we had a number of resolute fellows on board," Potter claimed, "had it not been for the treachery of a renegade Englishman who betrayed us." He and the other ringleaders were pointed out and "ordered into irons by the officers of the Tartar." They were not released until Spithead was reached.[9]

The *Tartar* arrived off Portsmouth on January 6, 1776, after a passage of twenty-one days. Captain Medows set off for London with dispatches and the captured Pine Tree flag, which Graves had requested "might be sent to Admiral Montagu, as it was taken by his son." The banner was displayed with considerable elation at the Admiralty. Hugh Palliser, the commissioner who received Medows' dispatches, displayed more acumen than Graves or Howe in examining Martindale's instructions. He noted at once the significant fact that the rebel "proceedings at sea is at present limited against ships and vessels employed in the fleet and army in America." All captured papers were sent to George III, with copies to Lord George Germain, and "the King's pleasure" desired as to the prisoners in the *Tartar*.

People flocked into Portsmouth from all parts of Hampshire and West Sussex for a sight of the rebels, and a great deal of money was collected for their support. After a thorough scrubbing they had been landed from the *Tartar* and conveyed to Haslar Marine Hospital on shore, where many took the smallpox. Some twenty-six remained there sick, but the others were sent to a guardship, the *Resolution*, at Spithead. "Nothing could exceed the extreme wretchedness of the Crew of the Privateer lately taken from the Americans," read a paragraph in a London newspaper. This com-

ment prompted a gentleman of pronounced Tory leaning to visit them and issue a rebuttal:

> I intended to contribute something toward cloathing them and expected to find them all in irons; how great was my disappointment, when I found them removed from the Tartar to the Resolution, at free liberty, victualled the same as the ship's company, and since removed on board the Centaur, where their old clothes were changed for new, at the expense of Government; this surprised me much.[10]

Lord Germain announced, "The private Men have all voluntarily entered themselves on board his Majesty's Ships, but the Officers, having refused so to do, it has been judged fit to send them back to America." Five persons—Martindale, Turner, Childs, Howland and Tyler—were placed on board the frigate *Greyhound.* What became of Surgeon Manvide and William Ford, the pilot, is not in the record. "It is hoped that the Possession of these Prisoners will enable you to procure the Release of such of His Majesty's Officers and loyal Subjects as are in the disgraceful Situation of being Prisoners to the Rebels," Lord Germain wrote to General Howe.

Lord Germain to the contrary, the hapless hands from the *Washington,* or such of them as survived the smallpox, were pressed into his Majesty's service. Their entry on board British ships was voluntary only in the words of the Secretary for the Colonies. Israel Potter declared that smallpox proved fatal to one-half of the men sent to the hospital. Few of the ill-fated crew ever saw their native land again.[11]

CHAPTER TEN

Manley's Fame Grows and Shuldham Succeeds Graves

STEPHEN CABOT, one of the Cabots of Beverly, rode into Cambridge on December 9 with agreeable news. John Manley had sent in two more valuable prizes! They were the ship *Jenny*, of 400 tons burden, William Foster, master, from London, and the brig *Little Hannah*, of 140 tons, Robert Adams, master, from Antigua. Each carried cargo consigned to the ministerial forces in Boston.

The *Jenny*, sighted five leagues out in the bay, had been taken by subterfuge. Pretending to be a British tender, Manley had decoyed her near. She carried two 6-pounders, six blunderbusses, and had a crew of nineteen. When the deception was discovered, however, it had been too late to resist. Captain Foster had tried to sink signal book and papers by tying them to the blunderbusses and tossing them overboard. The boarding officer, coming alongside, had seen them fall. The bundle had disintegrated when it struck the surface, and with a boathook he had retrieved the signal book, manifest and several letters. Capture of the *Little Hannah* a few hours later had been effected by a similar deception. She also was armed, having two 2-pounders, which were never used.[1]

Washington and Moylan examined the manifests that Cabot had delivered to headquarters. The *Jenny*'s cargo, directed for use of the British army, consisted of 186 chaldrons (roughly 200 tons) of coal, 100 casks of porter, 637 bushels of beans, 439 bushels of potatoes, 40 live hogs (three having died in passage), and a variety of miscellaneous items. While fuel and the other articles were "no

rarity to the Army of the United Colonies," ran a newspaper comment, "yet so far as they are distressing to their Enemies, so far it must be acknowledged they are an advantage to us."

The cargo of the *Little Hannah* was for the use of the British navy. It ran largely to liquids—139 hogsheads of rum, 96 cases of Geneva, and 123 gallons of spirits. There were also bags of cocoa and such delicacies as a cask of oranges, "a present from the Tories to General Gage," who had forsaken the scene some months before. The liquids, according to one wag, would "be more acceptable to our Army than any other Provisions, save a further Mess or two for the [mortar] CONGRESS, which has not a very carping appetite." [2]

News of these captures reached headquarters while Washington's official family was agog over the pending arrival of Mrs. Washington. She and her little party were expected in camp by December 11. Reading the manifest of the brig from Antigua, his Excellency's eyes alighted upon certain dainties there listed, which would afford the fair visitors a welcome variation from army fare. He pointed them out to Moylan, who wrote Bartlett: "There are limes, lemons and oranges on board, which being perishable you must sell immediately. The General will want some of each, as well as the sweetmeats and pickles . . . as his lady will be here today or tomorrow." His Excellency did not expect such delicacies as a gift, Moylan added.

Having taken steps to please Martha Washington's dainty palate, her husband turned to sterner matters. He agreed that the *Jenny*'s master, in throwing papers overboard after surrender, deserved to be severely punished, for, "in any other war than the present, he would suffer death for such an action." As Americans should show themselves "humane as well as brave," he directed Bartlett to treat the offending master "with all possible tenderness." Foster and Adams of the *Little Hannah*, like Hunter of the *Nancy*, and Lowrie of the *Concord*, with their crews, might remain in Beverly or Salem, but if the agent apprehended any mischief, he should parole them to an inland town. Two passengers on board the *Little Hannah*—Mr. John Burke, who had "the character of a gentleman," and a Mr. Gregory, who had been "on board a man-of-war"—should be offered paroles. If they refused to sign them, they should be sent to headquarters.

Martha Washington and her entourage were ushered into Cam-

bridge on December 11. Shortly thereafter, the delicacies rolled in from Beverly—a box of pickles, a keg of sweetmeats, two cases and a box of wine, two canisters of tea, a barrel of loaf sugar, a barrel of lemons, three casks of porter, and a box of oranges. His Excellency was a bit captious about some of the comestibles. The barrel of lemons, he remarked sourly, was but half full. He had expected bottled porter, " which would have been much more agreeable than in the cask." He had hoped for some of the preserved ginger he had noted listed in the manifest. Captured tea, while tax free, was not yet drunk at headquarters, and would be returned to Beverly.

Washington had heard that throngs of curious people were roaming unchecked over Manley's latest prizes. A stern warning was sent to Bartlett to keep all but officers and agents away from the vessels, and, if there were embezzlements, the agents would be held accountable. Then John Burke, the *Little Hannah*'s passenger, who bore " the character of a gentleman," arrived at headquarters with a complaint that Manley's men had stripped the prizes " of every little thing they could lay hands on." Looting included not only appurtenances of the *Jenny* and *Little Hannah*, but personal belongings of officers and passengers. Washington exploded wrathfully, and Moylan admonished Bartlett:

> The General was much surprised at the rapacity of the crew. It is now his positive command that you make strict enquiry for the different articles which have been taken, and such as can be got, returned to the proper owners; and that such articles as cannot be found, must be made good to them—the same to be deducted from the shares of those whom it can be proved the pillagers. If they cannot be found out, it must be a charge upon the one-third belonging to the captors.

Washington assumed that the solution of the vexing problem of prizes would be contained in the numerous resolutions which were enclosed in a letter received on December 13 from the president of Congress. The latter advised that the report of the Committee of Conference and the General's various communications had received careful attention in Congress, and all steps taken had been approved. But the resolutions, when studied by his Excellency and Stephen Moylan, while embracing a comprehensive statement of the naval policy of the United Colonies, left unanswered the one vital question—what to do with the vessels laid up in Beverly har-

bor? Congress had ignored or overlooked the point he had repeatedly stressed, that his prizes did not come within the requirements of the Massachusetts maritime court.[3]

Those prizes were fast becoming a worrisome responsibility. Each day saw mounting charges to guard them, decreasing values as cargoes deteriorated or were pilfered, and growing discontent among the crews of the armed schooners as prize money remained unpaid. But Washington, no matter how irritated he might have felt, acknowledged the letter with remarkable restraint: "I received your favor of the 2d instant, with the several resolves of Congress therein enclosed. The resolves relative to captures made by the Continental armed vessels only want a court established for trial, to make them complete. This I hope will be soon done, as I have taken the liberty to urge it often to Congress."

He added that there was a rumor of the loss of the *Washington.* As Congress had asked him to propose to General Howe an exchange of Ethan Allen, taken at Montreal, he feared he would now have to make a similar request of the enemy in behalf of Sion Martindale. Confirmation of the capture of the brig came a day or two later, along with word that the crew was to be sent to London and tried for treason. Moylan was philosophical over the bad news. "Poor [Martindale] is gone to England," he wrote. "His vessel was not at all calculated for the service; she was fitted out at an enormous expense, did nothing, and struck without firing a gun."[4]

There was some compensation for this loss on December 18, when Manley sent into Beverly the sloop *Betsey,* of sixty tons burden, bringing a cargo of Indian corn and oats from Virginia's Governor Dunmore for the use of the British cavalry in Boston. The contents of a packet of letters found on board led Washington to term the *Betsey,* "but little inferior to any prize our famous Manl[e]y has taken." Some of the letters had been written by Dunmore fourteen days before, when the sloop had sailed from the Chesapeake. Others came from as far away as St. Augustine, and were reports of conditions by Governor Tonyn of East Florida and John Stuart, the British Indian agent for the southeast. Some of them spoke of meditated attacks on Charleston, South Carolina. Others described plans for suppression of rebellion in Virginia. Several told of naval operations off the south Atlantic coast. In all, there were more than thirty, each containing information of value.

"As Lord Dunmore's schemes are fully laid open in these letters," Washington advised the president of Congress, "I need not point out . . . the necessity there is of a vigorous exertion being adopted, to dispossess his Lordship of the stronghold he has got in Virginia. I do not mean to dictate, but I am sure they [Congress] will pardon me for giving them freely my opinion, which is, that the fate of America a good deal depends on his being obliged to vacate Norfolk this winter." [5]

The *Betsey* carried six swivel guns. Her commander was John Atkinson, a midshipman from his Majesty's sloop *Otter*. On board, in addition to six picked hands, were a passenger and four prisoners. The passenger was Colonel Moses Kirkland, a South Carolina Tory who had fled to St. Augustine and was going to Boston "to communicate the situation of affairs." The prisoners were Captain Thomas Matthews of the Virginia militia, William Robinson, a delegate from Princess Anne County to the Virginia Assembly, and two shipmasters, Captain William Deane and a Captain Porter. The first two had been captured when Dunmore seized Norfolk in October. The shipmasters had been taken off Ocracoke, North Carolina, by a British tender, and were charged with importing gunpowder, salt and rum for the rebels.

Washington sent for and examined the Tory colonel, who was supposed to be "a dangerous fellow." His Excellency's conclusion was that Kirkland "appears to be a more illiterate and simple man than his strong recommendations [in some of the intercepted letters] bespoke him." Nonetheless, he sent him off under a strong guard for Philadelphia, and the four Virginians, who had been prisoners on board the *Betsey*, were given the privilege of accompanying the party. The militia colonel and the assemblyman had been most fortunate, in Washington's opinion, as there was little doubt in his mind but that they would have been forwarded to England.

Capture of the *Betsey*, on top of the *Nancy*, *Concord*, and *Jenny* and *Little Hannah*, aroused renewed excitement in camp. "You no doubt have heard of Captain Manley," enthused one writer, "because his name is famous, and as many towns contend for the honor of his birth as they did for that of Homer." [6] The contending towns apparently so confused the matter that Manley's principal biographer could only presume that he had been born in Boston.

Regardless of his nativity, John Manley, as Stephen Moylan expressed it, "is truly our hero of the sea."

While needing every minute in the closing weeks of December to reorganize his army, Washington found naval matters intruding constantly upon him. Principal problems, of course, continued to revolve around the prizes and their cargoes—perishable or otherwise. The coal from the *Concord* had not reached Cambridge because of the high price of teams. The *Little Hannah*'s liquors had been stored at Salem bridge, and a guard had to be provided. Butter, from several cargoes, the agent believed would sell better in Beverly than in Cambridge. Would his Excellency please advise what to do?

In his dilemma, to spur Congress anew to action upon his repeated appeals for enabling legislation to dispose of prizes, Washington turned to one of his fellow Virginians, Richard Henry Lee. Would Lee please use his influence in Congress to have a court of admiralty or some power appointed to hear and determine captures? "You cannot conceive how I am plagued on this head," he wrote, "and how impossible it is for me to hear and determine upon matters of this sort, when the facts, perhaps, are only to be ascertained at ports, forty, fifty, or more miles distant, without bringing the parties here at great trouble and expense. At any rate my time will not allow me to be a competent judge of this business."

Perhaps the enthusiastic gentleman at Cambridge who just then toasted Washington as "The American General and Admiral" was not far wrong.[7]

The final prize of the year—a recapture—was a Christmas present to Washington from Winborn Adams, whose persistence at last was rewarded. She was the sloop *Sally*, of seventy tons burden, laden with 153 quarter casks of Lisbon wine, and manned by Robert Basden, master's mate, and a half-dozen hands from the British frigate *Niger*. The *Warren* had taken her Christmas Eve close in with the lighthouse, and Adams escorted her into Marblehead. She had been the property of Peter Barberie of Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and had sailed from Lisbon for New York. The *Niger* had taken her near Bermuda, and had ordered her for Boston.

This capture ended the *Warren*'s cruise. She had run into Beverly earlier in December in need of additional hands, new sails, and replacement of several defective swivels and two 4-pounders which were badly deteriorated. William Bartlett had questioned the ad-

visability of re-outfitting her, but Washington, who appreciated the New Hampshire captain's determination despite the lack of startling results, ordered her complement filled from Colonel Enoch Poor's regiment, and authorized new sails, swivels and cannon. Adams had sailed again just in time to intercept the *Sally*.[8] His crew, however, discouraged at so poor a return for long, frigid cruising, had lost its ardor. Enlistments would expire December 31, and the men had no desire to be at sea when the day came that they could depart for home.

Unfortunately, the same spirit infected the other crews at Beverly —Manley's, Broughton's and Selman's. The *Lee* had taken numerous prizes, and most of them had been valuable, but of prize money her crew had not received a penny. There was discontent and dissatisfaction, which Manley was powerless to overcome. On board the *Hancock* and the *Franklin* disgruntlement ruled, fomented by and largely reflecting the attitude of the two captains, who had failed so dismally, and in whose bosoms still rankled the curt reception they had received at headquarters. Most of the petty officers and the men under them were merely marking time until the end of the year.

Anticipating the inevitable, Bartlett, on December 26, ordered the four schooners to be berthed alongside Colonel John Glover's wharf in Beverly. The prizes remained under guard. Most cargoes, to avoid embezzlement, had been warehoused. Only perishables had been or could be sold, and Washington's latest order was to advertise them at least eight days before sale in the Cambridge and Watertown newspapers. Intelligence reports from Boston advised that naval reinforcements under Rear Admiral Shuldham were expected. When outposts on the headlands reported two large ships entering Boston harbor, and much cannonading, Washington concluded his last letter of the year to Congress, with "by a number of salutes . . . yesterday I fancy Admiral Shuldham is arrived."

The results of the operations of his Excellency's navy to the end of 1775, Stephen Moylan summarized succinctly. Manley's performance had been outstanding. Martindale had surrendered without a fight. Coit he looked upon as "a mere blubber." Broughton and Selman he indicated not by name, but by dashes, and labeled them as lazy and inert. Adams he ignored completely. He hoped for the New Year, "we will pick up some more active men."[9]

Molyneux Shuldham, Rear Admiral of the White, and the new commander in chief of his Britannic Majesty's ships in North America (to give him his full and sonorous title) had arrived at Boston on December 30. He had come, not to reinforce Graves, but to succeed him. He had sailed into the harbor on board the fifty-gun ship *Chatham*, and most timely for the shattered morale of officers and men of Graves's squadron was his appearance.

With the advent of winter Graves had become filled with solicitude for his seamen and their hardships, and self-pity for his own sad lot in having to cope with obstacles he had come to regard as unsurmountable. With cold weather and increasing activity of rebel armed schooners, the situation had become intolerable. Not that he feared the puny vessels of Washington's navy—the captured *Washington* had shown how inferior they were—but he despaired of being able to bottle them in their numerous harbors, for, as he pointed out:

> The fatigue to men and officers was prodigious, the stress of weather and danger of the seas to the Cruizers to the Northward between Capes Ann and Codd and between the former and Cape Elizabeth, especially in winter when storms are usual, rendered the services intolerable to most tempers, even of the most resolute make. This sort of storm is so severe that it cannot be looked against, and by the snow freezing as fast as it falls, baffles all resistance, for the Blocks become choaked, the Tackle incrusted, the Ropes and Sails quite congealed, and the whole ship before long one Cake of ice.

Shuldham explained in his first dispatch to the Admiralty that "the Success of the Rebels may reasonably be accounted for if their Lordships will please to consider the Advantage they have over us by being too early Suffer'd to take possession of all the Harbours, Creeks and Rivers on this Coast, many of which they have Fortify'd and where these small Vessels Lye ready."

"Your Lordship will be surprised and concerned to hear how fast the armed vessels of the rebels have multiplied," he confided to Lord Sandwich, "how many of our storeships and victualers have been taken, and how successful they have defeated all our force, vigilance and attention by their artifices." [10]

And with that Shuldham took up the task of coping with Washington's navy.

Interlude 1775

THE EVENTS in Cambridge on New Year's Day have long been engrossed in the annals of American history. That morning Washington received from the British in Boston copies of the speech George III had delivered to Parliament in October. Its very heartlessness induced the gestures of defiance with which his Excellency challenged the king's pronouncements. A new banner was raised on Prospect Hill, the flag of the Grand Union—thirteen alternating red and white stripes in the field, the combined crosses of St. George and St. Andrew in the canton. Thirteen guns, whose reverberations rolled along the wintry hills and echoed in beleaguered Boston, saluted the colorful ensign as it whipped in the cold winds. The belching cannon heralded as well the birth of the new army of the United Colonies, an army Washington had hammered together in the face of the enemy, while his old force disintegrated as enlistments expired.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

His Excellency Appoints a Commodore

DESPITE the discouraging fact that his five armed schooners lay deserted—four at Beverly and the fifth at Plymouth—Washington refused to abandon naval operations. John Manley's prizes had been so valuable as to more than compensate for the failure of the other captains. Their ill success, he knew, had been due largely to want of initiative, to indolence, and to a fondness for port when snow storms raged and icy winds whistled. Experience had demonstrated that being bred to the lobster pots and fishing banks of New England did not necessarily qualify a man to command an armed vessel. What was needed were more shipmasters with the vigor and ability of Manley. Given proper commanders and long overdue pay and prize money, he had Colonel John Glover's assurance that most of the men in Beverly would re-enlist.

With advent of the New Year Washington believed he had the incentive to woo back the reluctant seamen. Congress finally had acted. On January 2 an express had placed in his hands three resolutions. Two of them promised more profitable cruising; one broadened the prize field by including the vessels employed in carrying supplies to the British army and navy, not just cargoes, as hitherto; the other eliminated salvage and substituted a graduated reward based upon the value of a recapture, and its length of time in enemy hands. The third resolution at long last solved the prize riddle! The vessels laid up in Beverly harbor, their cargoes in the warehouses, and all future captures should "be proceeded against

by the rules of the laws of Nations and libelled in the courts of admiralty erected in said colony." [1]

As Massachusetts had divided its seacoast into districts and had appointed a judge of the admiralty for each, there should be no further delays. Manley's prizes in Beverly were in the middle district, whose judge was Timothy Pickering of Salem. The judge of the southern district was Nathan Cushing, and his area included Plymouth and Coit's prizes. Washington wrote to all agents on January 3. They should libel against all prizes taken by Continental armed vessels in the court of admiralty for their district. Diligence should be used to secure speedy trials "in order that a distribution be made to the captors."

Greater responsibilities were thus given the agents, and Winthrop Sargent, a Gloucester merchant, had been added to take care of prizes carried into Cape Ann. However, because that harbor was not looked upon as safe, he was directed to send the prizes around to Beverly and agree with William Bartlett "upon the terms upon which you will do business for each." The new orders were far more comprehensive than the few simple instructions which had sufficed in October. Then there had been only hope of prizes; now they were a reality with expectancy of more. Experience had developed problems, such as disposal of private property on board, preservation of vessels and cargoes from deterioration and theft, paroling of prisoners, and selling of perishable goods. All of these were now embraced in the directive from headquarters.

The weather turned mild at the opening of the year. Washington, hoping to intensify efforts to intercept enemy transports, dispatched Stephen Moylan to Beverly on January 3 to bring back within forty-eight hours the answers to three questions: How soon could the four schooners be ready for sea? Could his agents recommend suitable captains for them? How seriously was cruising likely to be hampered by a British man-of-war lying off Cat Island and commanding the approaches to Marblehead, Salem and Beverly? Moylan returned on January 5 and reported all four schooners in fair shape. Each needed something—new square sails for the *Hancock* and the *Franklin*, replacement of some swivels in the *Franklin* and the *Lee*, sheathing repairs for the *Franklin* and the *Warren*, a long boat for the *Lee*, and additional oars for all of them. Bartlett was

caring for these wants although he was without money to pay for them.

Few officers remained, Moylan advised; only John Manley of the captains, and no lieutenants. Two masters had stuck with the schooners—Richard Stiles of the *Hancock*, and William Burke of the *Warren*. The latter was strongly recommended for a captaincy. Two shipmasters had been suggested by Bartlett and Colonel Glover for the other vacancies: Samuel Tucker of Marblehead and Daniel Waters of Malden. Washington had met Tucker, who had appeared at headquarters a few weeks earlier with an introduction from Robert Morris of Philadelphia. His Excellency was willing to take the endorsements of others for promotion of Burke and acceptance of Waters. Manley preferred the *Hancock* to the *Lee*, Moylan said, and had transferred to her, with Stiles, her former master, as first lieutenant. Tucker had taken command of the *Franklin*, Waters, of the *Lee*, and Burke would have the *Warren*.[2]

The British man-of-war off Cat Island was the *Fowey*, Captain George Montagu, the same ship which had taken the *Washington* a month before. She had been wooding, watering and watching, Moylan commented, but she could not blockade the three ports. The armed schooners could get to sea either by running easterly close in along the Cape Ann shore, or, by night, standing boldly out through the channel between Baker's and Little Misery islands. Sole effect of the blockade had been to tempt the steward and three seamen from the prize ship *Jenny* to violate their paroles and try to get off to her. They had been detected and marched to Cambridge under guard to be incarcerated in Worcester jail.

Moylan had finished his report when an express brought a letter from Beverly, from the much disturbed William Bartlett—so disturbed, in fact, that he had misdated it "5 Decem^{r}. 1776":

A few minutes after I tuick my Leave of you Cap^{t}. John Derby of Salem came to me and made a demand of the Guns Belonging to the Lee Sch^{r} which Coll^{l}. Glover borrowed of him. I interceded with him as much as Lay in my Power to have them only for one Cruize more but he Utterly Refused and insists upon having off them imedeately upon Receiving the demand I together with Coll.^{l}. Glover Pursued you to Give the information but Could not Over take you what can be done about this matter must be Left to you in Haste

A postscript added; "Sir I would remind you of the Cash wanting."

Purchase the guns, Moylan replied at Washington's direction. If Captain Derby refused to sell, return them to him and place guns in the *Lee* "out of the two vessels that are not in such forwardness." As Moylan recalled it, there were still two pieces at Cape Ann out of the ordnance brig *Nancy*, and two at Beverly out of the *Concord*, all good weapons. Likewise, Washington thought that four guns were as good as six to serve the purpose for which the schooners were fitted out. As to money, "The Treasury is at present very low." Bartlett would have to wait until a remittance was received from Congress, a remittance which, like all hopeful creditors, "we are every day expecting."

Colonel Glover came in from Beverly to report that Manley, by offering to advance a month's pay, had engaged thirty men.[3] Washington agreed that, with the officers, this was an ample complement, but he objected to the commitment unless the men were signed up for twelve months. Moylan put the question up to Bartlett on January 10. If the crew was not enlisted for a year, the men were not entitled to any advance. However, if to refuse it would retard the sailing of the schooner, Bartlett was to raise the necessary sum somehow. Washington did not want the money to come out of army accounts, which would be the case if Colonel Glover advanced it. "It will save much trouble, and be, at the same time, to your own interest," Bartlett was reminded, "to keep all the accounts of those vessels in your own hands." Fearing more confusion without a steadying hand at Beverly, Washington again sent Moylan off to stay until the four schooners were dispatched.

The fifth schooner—at Plymouth—had not been overlooked. Several days before leaving for Beverly, Moylan, at Washington's behest, wrote to William Watson asking the condition of the *Harrison*. If she were fit for service, the agent was to select someone qualified to command, appoint other officers and enlist a crew; if unfit, and another schooner, "remarkable for sailing," could be found, he was to remove the *Harrison*'s guns and appurtenances to her and get her ready for sea. Coit had given the schooner such a bad character that Washington scarcely expected a favorable reply.

Surprisingly enough, Watson answered that the *Harrison*, though

"not very well accomodated for the officers," was an excellent sailer and sufficiently strong. His letter was delivered at headquarters by his nominee to command her, Captain Charles Dyar, who had been with Coit on the last cruise and could furnish a first-hand report on the schooner. Dyar might not, at the first interview, appear to advantage in his Excellency's eyes, the agent cautioned. "He is no orator, and seems rather softly, but his character stands high as a good officer, and as an active smart sailor." Should Washington approve of him, Watson was sure the *Harrison* could "get as fine a crew as any on the Continent," for as long a period as Dyar was in command. "Our people are very fond of knowing their officers," he explained.

Although approving Watson's candidate, Washington held Dyar at Cambridge for several days while commissions and instructions for the new captains were being prepared. Hitherto the armed schooners had been commanded by authority of army commissions. From Congress, however, had come a number of blank commissions designed for the captains of the new Continental fleet in the Delaware. They called for obedience to "such Orders and Directions from Time to Time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United Colonies, or Committee of Congress for that purpose appointed, or Commander in Chief for the Time being of the Navy of the United Colonies or any other superior Officer."[4] Washington had studied them and did not consider them applicable. He wished no committee of Congress issuing orders, nor did he want questioning of his authority by officers who might conceive themselves justified in appealing to Commodore Esek Hopkins in Philadelphia. He was in supreme command of his armed schooners, and the form of commission he created left no question on that score. His captains were not of the army, nor were they of the Continental navy, but they were subject through him to army control:

By Virtue of the Powers and Authorities to me given by the honourable Continental Congress, I do hereby constitute and appoint you Captain and Commander of the Schooner ————, now lying at ————, in the service of the United Colonies of North America; to have, hold, exercise, and enjoy the said office of Captain and Commander of the said Vessel, and to perform and execute all Matters and Things which to your said

Office do, or may by Right belong, or appertain, until further Orders shall be given herein by the honourable Continental Congress, myself, or any future Commander in Chief of said Army; Willing and commanding all Officers, Soldiers and Persons whatsoever, any way concerned, to be obedient and assisting to you in the due execution of this Commission.

Given under my hand and seal, at Cambridge, this ——— day of ————, Annoque Domini 1776.[5]

Washington had determined that "for his great vigilance and industry," John Manley should be appointed commodore "of our little squadron." It was Washington's belief that his favorite captain would inspire the commanders of the other armed schooners with some of his activity, and could appoint them to stations where they would have better chances to intercept enemy supplies. The instructions to the new captains, dated January 20, contained a paragraph announcing the promotion. "As Captain Manl[e]y is appointed Commodore of the four schooners now fitted out," it read, "he will fix upon proper signals by which you may know each other; and you are to obey him, as such in all cases."

These instructions contained a grim peroration. His Excellency wanted no repetition of the ill success which attended the major part of the armed vessels in former cruises, therefore, "if it appears that the Captains, or any of the officers, do not exert themselves and do all that they possibly can for their own and the publick good, they shall be dismissed the service, and rendered incapable of serving their country in any honourable station hereafter, in the Army or Navy."

Charles Dyar left Cambridge that same day with commission, instructions and permission to enlist a crew for six months' service. He had told Washington that the *Harrison*'s sailing would be improved by "a squaresail and some other small sails." If Watson thought them necessary and the expense would not be out of proportion to the possible benefits, Washington was agreeable, but left the decision to the agent. However, orders to the latter read: "You will immediately dispatch the Captain upon a cruise, with such sails as he has, if they will answer. Those he wants may be made while he is out."

Commissions and instructions for Tucker and Waters went off for Beverly also on January 20. Moylan had written urgently for them

the day before. Washington expressed pleasure that "our little fleet is likely to get out again," and enclosed a copy of the private signals used by British ships on the American station—the signal book that had been salvaged from the *Jenny*. Moylan had proposed an attempt to take the *Fowey* by surprise, but Washington did not believe it could be justified because of "the situation of our affairs." He agreed to consider it further when his aide returned from Beverly, which should be the minute the schooners were dispatched.

Stephen Moylan's second visit to Beverly in January was reminiscent of his initial trip the previous October. His mission was similar—to expedite the sailing of Washington's naval vessels. This time, however, he did not have to start with little or nothing, and he was happy over the progress that Bartlett had made.

Nearest ready for sea was the *Hancock*. Manley had all his officers, commissioned and warrant, and thirty seamen. The schooner was provisioned and watered for a month's cruise, and the new square sail and a half-dozen additional oars had been delivered. A last hour requisition remained to be filled. Bartlett labeled it "Capt. Manley's Memo of Sundries." It included a request for "one new Beaver Hat" and "One Speaking Trumpet." When hailing his next potential prize, the captain intended to cut an impressive figure. To judge from other items, he was also looking for cabin comfort, with "one pair Curtains, one Copper Candlestick, Two Jappand Candle sticks," and "one Delph soap dish." However, his requisition embraced more practicable items, too, such as a Hadley quadrant, a compass, a coffee mill, a cutlass, a musket, and "two Brass Blunder Busses."

Samuel Tucker, thought by a contemporary to be "the most volatile empty body I ever met with," had been most industrious in recruiting for the *Franklin*. He had for first lieutenant Edward Fettyplace, Marblehead mariner, and son of the vice chairman of that town's Committee of Safety; and for second lieutenant, Francis Salter of Newburyport. Outstanding choice, however, was the master, James Mugford, Jr., twenty-six years old, of Marblehead, who by "his readiness at all times to serve the publick Interest of America, manifested himself to be a real Friend to his Country." [6] The small arms for the *Franklin* Tucker claimed he had to pur-

chase out of his own pocket, and the Pine Tree flag had been made by his wife Mary, "of cloth of her own purchasing at her own expense." From Bartlett's accounts, however, the captain seems to have been repaid for both expenditures.

Captain John Derby had insisted upon the return of his six guns loaned to the *Lee*. Colonel Glover had come to the rescue with the loan of four 4-pounders. Despite Washington's belief that four guns were sufficient, Daniel Waters wanted six. Bartlett bought two 2-pounders and installed them in the schooner. The *Lee*'s subordinate officers were Lieutenants Daniel Kissick and John Gill, with John Diamond as master. Her complement was about thirty-five, officers included.

William Burke, who, like Manley, had offered a month's advance pay, had some of his hands, but no officers. The *Warren* lacked swivels, and had but two 4-pounders, loaned also by Colonel Glover. Bartlett and the captain were considering likely candidates for lieutenants and master when Moylan arrived. The latter could see that the *Warren* was the most backward of all the schooners, and would not be ready to sail for some time.

Five British seamen, members of the crew of the ship *Concord*, tired of idling on parole in Beverly, applied to Bartlett to enter on board the armed vessels. The agent requested Moylan's advice, which was that the question be put up to his Excellency. A prompt reply came from headquarters. Washington was willing to accept them, but directed that they be distributed among the schooners, for, "though these men may be well disposed to serve us, it is only right to guard against accidents."

During the outfitting, the *Fowey* continued off Cat Island. Moylan eyed her longingly. He felt there was a sufficient force available in the area—the crews of the armed vessels and Colonel John Glover's regiment stationed there since the army reorganized—to effect at night a surprise boat attack. That his proposal was vetoed by Washington was a bitter disappointment. Before that time, however, John Manley had gone to sea in the *Hancock* on January 20, acting under his old army commission and unaware of his appointment as commodore. A few nights later, Tucker, in the *Franklin*, and Waters, in the *Lee*, having received commissions and instructions, slipped out in company. By then Moylan, his proposed

force weakened by the departure of three crews, had recognized the impossibility of taking the *Fowey*, and had set off for Cambridge. Captain Montagu, of that frigate, also had recognized something. Secret shore contacts had informed him that three armed schooners had eluded his blockade. On January 26 he advised the admiral that he could not "put a stop to the Insolence of the Privateers without more force." [7]

Report of the sailing of three of his schooners was most pleasing to his Excellency when Moylan brought the word to headquarters on January 25. The latter's account of his brief stay in Beverly was listened to with interest, and his decision not to await departure of the *Warren* was approved. During his aide's absence, Washington had determined to add another vessel to his navy to replace the captured *Washington*. She was a schooner, owned by Colonel John Lee of Marblehead. The colonel had sent his offer to hire her to the Continent by Captain John Ayres, a former Boston shipmaster, whom he recommended as her commander. Washington had approved of Ayres, and considered the delay in dispatching Burke as fortuitous; both schooners might possibly be gotten out together.

The new vessel was to be called the *Lynch*, honoring Thomas Lynch, a South Carolina delegate to the Continental Congress who will be recalled as a member of the three-man committee sent to confer with Washington at Cambridge the previous October. Washington had thought at that time that the name *Lynch* had been bestowed upon one of the armed schooners then commissioned. That this sixth schooner should be so named would indicate a desire to atone for the past oversight and confusion. Instructions to Bartlett "to give Captain Ayres every assistance" went off with the captain on January 26.[8] He also carried an order from Washington to permit three of the British masters—Hunter of the *Nancy*, Lowrie of the *Concord*, and Foster of the *Jenny*—"to proceed to Great Britain in the best manner they can, provided they do not go by way of Boston." Each had given his parole "not to act inimical to the United Colonies." Further, any of the three crews who desired might proceed with them.

Meanwhile, Washington had heard from Plymouth. Watson felt the square sail for the *Harrison* was very necessary, the expense

would not be great, and he would do all in his power to expedite the schooner's sailing. Captain Dyar still needed a gunner, and a few quires of cartridge papers. The latter described an act of renunciation rare indeed in military or naval service:

> Lieutenant [John] Wigglesworth the bearer of this will wait on your Excellency for his Commission as 2d Lieutenant by whom youl please to send a Commisn. for Mr. Thomas Doter as first Lieut.—Mr. Wigglesworth has conducted in this matter with great dignity—I had appointed him at 1st. Lieut. but Mr. Doter offering his service, Wigglesworth generously gave way to Doter as being a more experienced sailor, & as haveing been some years commander of a good Vessell.

His Excellency studied Wigglesworth and highly approved of him. Considering the bickering and squabbling over rank which had erupted almost daily in the army, the Plymouth lieutenant was a refreshing exception. Both commissions were duly filled in and Wigglesworth sent back to Plymouth with a promise to Watson that such conduct "will be taken good notice of on a future occasion." Right now, while courtesy was desirable, Washington wanted action.

CHAPTER TWELVE

Opening Naval Operations of the New Year

THE BITE of a hard New England winter had set in when John Manley took the *Hancock* past the unsuspecting *Fowey*, riding off Cat Island. Well appointed but slimly manned, one of the sturdiest of Washington's armed schooners, under his favorite commander, was at sea for the first cruise of the new year.

The course lay due east, with Eastern Point visible to port at dawn, and then north by east until Thatcher's Island had been picked up over the bow. From there, as winds permitted, he worked the *Hancock* on a southerly course toward the tip of Cape Cod, more than forty miles across Massachusetts Bay. In mid-passage a heavy gale set in, accompanied by snow that stung the leathery faces of the watch and white-blanketed the deck. Once a British frigate pursued him, but he soon lost her in the thick weather. The storm blew itself out finally, and Manley tacked westward in the face of light winds. It was a long disagreeable passage. The sky was clear but it was bitterly cold and the sea was still rough. By dawn of January 25, well in towards shore, he could see Boston lighthouse some two or three leagues to the westward. In the crisp morning air he made out the tall spars of several of his Majesty's ships, visible beyond it in Nantasket road.

More agreeable was the sight to port of a deep-laden merchant ship, beating her way towards the harbor. He could intercept her, but, with the wind westerly, enemy ships out of Nantasket might well be able to put a period to his own career. That was a calculated risk John Manley was willing to take. It proved well worth

taking, for there was no indication the British naval force was even faintly aware of what went on that day literally under its collective nose.[1]

The *Hancock* came within speaking distance of her quarry when a scant two miles east of the lighthouse. This was Manley's first chance to flourish the new speaking trumpet and sport his "Beaver Hat," as he hailed to learn her identity and ordered her to heave to. She was the *Happy Return*, of 130 tons burden, James Hall, master, from Whitehaven with sea coal, potatoes and other provisions for the British garrison. Manley paused to take out her master and several hands and throw a prize crew on board, and then stood for a second ship, sighted a few miles to the south off Cohasset rocks. She struck upon being hailed; another coal-laden vessel from Whitehaven, the *Norfolk*, Jonathan Grendal, master, of 120 tons burden. After manning her, but sixteen of the *Hancock*'s original complement remained.

Manley considered whether to beat northward toward Marblehead, or run before the wind down the coast to Plymouth. Appearance off Nahant of three sail supplied the answer. Prizemasters in the *Happy Return* and *Norfolk* were ordered to make for Plymouth, and the *Hancock* lay close to the wind for a nearer inspection. Many and confused are the reports of subsequent events. The accepted story was that "a schooner of eight carriage guns, with many swivels and full of men, convoying two little provision vessels from Halifax, came up and began an engagement with Capt. Manley."

The encounter was sharp but short. The *Hancock* had her rigging somewhat damaged and her gunner was wounded in the breast. British casualties, if any, were not given. Manley fought the schooner long enough for his prizes to get clear. Washington summed it up later with the comment that the enemy "thought it best to quit the combat, and he [Manley] to move off from the men-of-war, which were spectators of this scene." When the opponents separated, the *Hancock* had six cartridges remaining! To be questioned, therefore, is an optimistic comment that the captain would have taken the schooner as well as the provision vessels "had not his crew been considerably weakened by manning the two prizes."[2]

Putting into Plymouth behind his prizes, Manley wrote to Wash-

ington on January 26, giving an account of his cruise, and asking for a larger vessel. That his request was prompted by hearing that Congress on December 13, 1775, had decided to build thirteen frigates, two of them in Massachusetts, is most doubtful. Trace it rather to knowledge that Washington had named him commodore. Word of this promotion came to his ears upon arrival at Plymouth.

Regardless of what induced his request, the captain did not sit down to await a reply. He landed his prisoners, took his hands back from the prizes, and arranged for libels against the captives. Winter pinned him down in Plymouth harbor. According to William Watson, the captain was "puzzled with the ice, with which we are now blocked up, but has received no damage." He advised that the *Harrison* was also stuck fast, and had lost an anchor and cable.

While the latter schooner remained frozen in, Manley, no longer "puzzled," cleared Plymouth on the morning of January 30. A few hours later the *Hancock* was sighted by his Majesty's fourteen-gun brig *Hope*, commanded by Captain George Dawson. "The Hope is perhaps one of the best fitted and appointed vessels of her size in the King's service," Graves had bragged to the Admiralty. "She mounts eight 4 Pounders and Six 3 Pounders besides swivels." She had gone out the lighthouse channel two days before "to cruise against the Rebels within the Bay of Boston." Reading between the lines, she was looking for Manley.

Here was too formidable a vessel for Manley to engage, so he fled northward. The coast above the Gurnet for a distance of five miles was then a long sandy reach with occasional breaks at high tide, but all too narrow and shallow to admit a seventy-two-ton schooner. The nearest harbor below Marshfield beach was his goal, but Dawson was so close he could not change course to make for it. Beyond Marshfield lay another stretch of sandy coast with no opening until the mouth of the North River, south of Scituate. With the *Hope* gaining rapidly, and knowing that shifting sands made the river mouth hard to find, Manley elected to run ashore. The *Hancock* stuck her nose hard in the ground after a four-hour chase, and Dawson, anchoring as near as he could, "fired at her until seven in the Evening." The *Hope*'s guns blasted "not less

than 400 times upon the privateer," and a statistically minded soul went hunting next day and reported that "130 balls were found upon the adjacent shore." It was a prodigious waste of ammunition as not a man on board the *Hancock* was harmed and but one ball found its target. This one "entered the stern and passed but six inches from Capt. Manley who was confined by sickness to his cabin." It must have scared away fever, ague, or whatever ailed him, for nothing more is heard of his illness.

The *Hancock* had gone ashore at low tide. She floated around seven o'clock, and "endeavouring to push into North River, sunk." At least, so Dawson reported, and stood by at the mouth of the river till dawn. Manley, however, again had run aground, taken to the nearby shore, erected a breastwork, and sent for assistance. It came —militiamen and several cannon. At daybreak, Dawson manned two boats and boarded the *Hancock*, intending to set her on fire. But "such Number of People were assembled and firing upon the Hope's crew, and the Rebel Schooner being then almost full of Water, he thought it best to quit her, and not risque his People further, the Privateer being effectually disabled from ever cruizing again." As evidence to support his claim that she was done for, Dawson brought away an old red ensign and a swivel gun. But the *Hancock* was not destroyed. She was floated two days later, and taken around to Scituate for refitting.[3]

While Manley was in action south of Boston, two more of the captains—Samuel Tucker and Daniel Waters—were to the northward showing some of the activity so desired by his Excellency. For some days after slipping out of Beverly they could report "nothing material." On the morning of January 29, midway between Cape Ann and Boston lighthouse, the *Franklin* pursued and came up with a sloop standing southward. She was the *Rainbow*, of sixty tons burden, Samuel Perkins, master, with a crew of two, and a cargo of wood, potatoes, turnips, spruce beer, "a piece of venison, a quarter of veal and a goose."

The *Rainbow* had sailed from Damariscotta with a certificate from the committee of that place clearing her for Newburyport or Salem. To account for the direction he was headed, Perkins explained lamely that, with a good north wind at his back, he had

decided to make for Plymouth. Seeing disbelief in Tucker's face, he hastened to add that "he was thinking about putting about for Salem." That statement arousing even more suspicion, a prize crew went on board.

Tucker and Waters intended to send the *Rainbow* into Gloucester, and keep on eastward around the cape. The *Fowey*, lying in Baker's Island channel, spied them, however, just before noon of January 30, and gave chase. The two schooners and the prize consequently stood directly in, and the *Fowey*, after an hour and a half gave over pursuit, as "the Privateers took shelter in Cape Ann Harbor." Whereupon, Tucker and Waters turned the *Rainbow* over to Winthrop Sargent (it was the new agent's first prize), and went out again that night.

Luck was with them. On February 1, northeast of Cape Ann, they took a large brigantine, the *Henry and Esther*, one Nellis, master. She was about three hundred tons burden, and carried a cargo of sixty-two cords of wood, 150 water butts, and forty suits of soldiers' bedding. A transport in "the Ministerial Service," she had loaded at LaHave, in Nova Scotia, for Boston. They sent the prize in Squam harbor, on the north coast of Cape Ann peninsula, and headed around for Gloucester. Abreast of Cape Ann harbor they again were sighted by the *Fowey*. It was growing dusk and the *Franklin* was out of his clutches, so Captain Montagu contented himself with firing "5 Guns & several swivels" at her. This brief cannonading probably led to the exaggerated story that "one of the continental cruizers got into a harbor to the eastward, after having been chased by the Lively man of war, who fired about 170 shots at her."

When Tucker and Waters dropped anchor off Gloucester, they learned the *Rainbow* had been released. Sargent and the Committee of Safety had believed the sloop's master, and had found her papers in order. Perkins had tarried for a day or two, ostensibly awaiting a suitable wind to carry him around to Salem. He had stood out just before the *Franklin* and the *Lee* arrived, but not, as it turned out, for Salem.

Perkins' perfidy might have gone undetected, save for the testimony of John Cochran, an impressed American seaman in the *Fowey*. On the night of February 2 the *Rainbow* came in towards

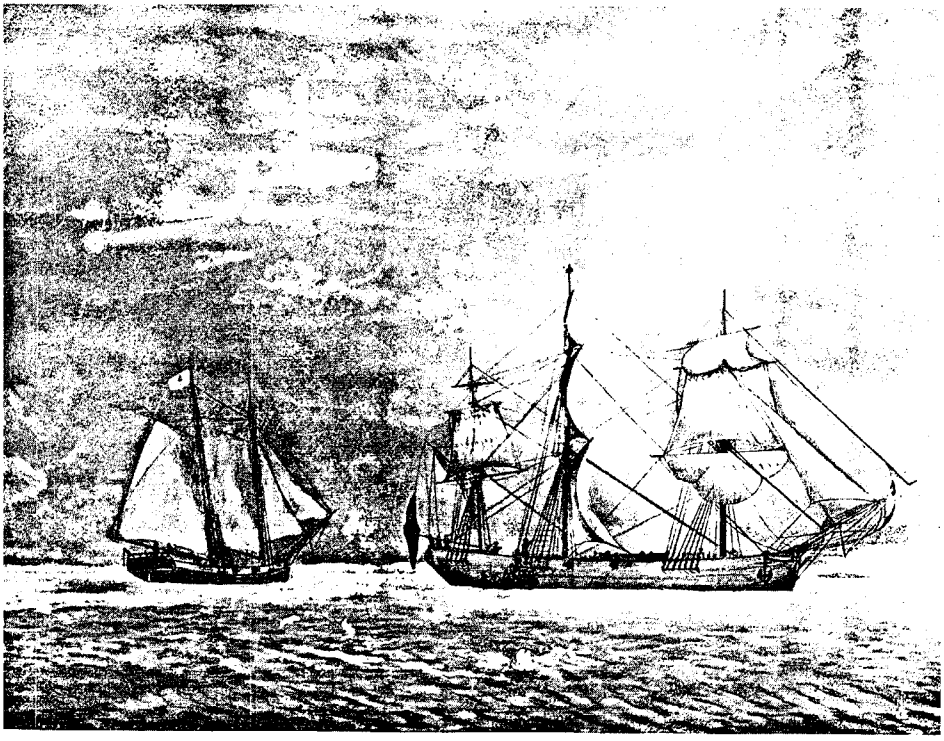
the frigate as she lay off Baker's Island. "All hands were ordered to their quarters," Cochran reported, "but, before a gun was fired, the Captain hailed the sloop and ordered her to bring to. The sloop answered that she was coming with design to bring to, and then dropped anchor alongside the Fowey."

That was about midnight, and Perkins came aboard where Cochran recognized him as one of two men who, a month or so before, had come off from shore several times in a small boat at night to supply the *Fowey* with fresh beef. The *Rainbow*'s cargo, even including the goose, was then transferred to the frigate. On the following morning, Captain Montagu put a mate and five men in the *Rainbow*, "to take her to Boston." Jonathan Glover, as agent for the crew of the *Franklin*, wrote sadly to Tucker that he feared the agent at Cape Ann had been duped. The *Rainbow* had vanished.[4]

John Ayres arrived in Beverly with Washington's order to arm and man a sixth schooner, which was to be known as the *Lynch*. William Bartlett learned that she was laid up for the winter at Manchester, and would have to be brought around for outfitting. Ayres had selected both of his commissioned officers from Marblehead: John Roche, first lieutenant, and John Tiley, second lieutenant.

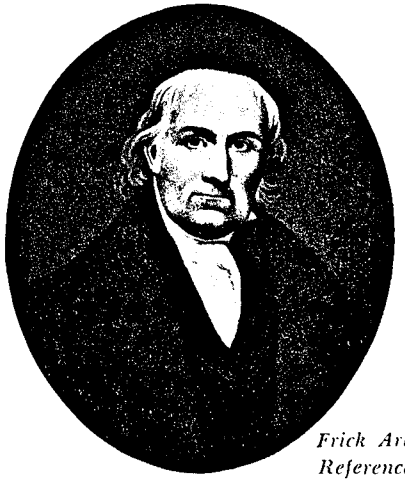
Dispatched to Manchester to sail her to Beverly, Lieutenant Roche found the schooner embedded in the ice. He took lodgings and a stall for his horse at John Allen's hostelry, the same Allen who had fared so well when the militia had marched through Manchester two months before to guard the *Nancy*. Roche hired eight men, who chopped the schooner free in two days, while he braved the bitter cold overseeing them, and found solace at the inn in the evenings with mugs of grog and hot rum and sugar.

Some dozen or more of Ayres' hands were next sent to Manchester to guard the schooner against a possible British foray. Some were quartered on board and others at Allen's. The whole crew breakfasted and dined at the inn, as did a carpenter and "five that Cam[e] with him," so John Allen was a busy host, indeed. Carpenter and crew were busy for two days repairing ice damage to the hull before the run around to Beverly. Captain Ayres and



Peabody Museum

Capture of the powder ship *Hope*



Frick Art
Reference Library

Captain Samuel Tucker

Essex Institute

William Bartlett,
Washington's agent at Beverly

Lieutenant Tiley arrived with more men on February 6. The officers dined in state that night. One of them topped off the meal with "a mug & a half of todey" and the other two split three quarts and a pint of rum and sugar. Twenty-one breakfasts were served next morning to Ayres and his crew, and six to the carpenter and his workmen. Then they all embarked in the *Lynch* to the great regret of the innkeeper.

The *Lynch* went out of Manchester harbor in squally weather and with visibility low. She was through Baker's Island channel, hugging the Little Misery Island side, before she was observed by the *Fowey* at anchor to the southward. With the wind out of the northwest pursuit was useless and Captain Montagu made no effort to weigh. He tried instead to reach the fleeing schooner with his heavy guns. Seven 9-pound shot went hurtling after her, but she passed through unscathed, and was soon moored at William Bartlett's wharf in Beverly.

Outfitting proceeded apace with much to be done. She needed a topmast, two topsail yards, a square sail yard, a cross-jack yard, a pair of cross-trees, two steering sail booms, a ringtail boom, a flying jib boom, and an ensign staff. Every sail she owned had to be repaired and altered, and a new ringtail, two topsails and a new square sail provided. Rigging was secured from Salem "Sundry times," as were eighteen loads of ballast. To complete her armament, Bartlett bought a 4-pounder and four swivels, and had another 4-pounder carted from Cape Ann. He also borrowed two 2-pounders from Colonel Glover, and advanced thirty pounds to Ayres "to purchase small arms." In eighteen days she was ready for sea.[5]

Commissions dated February 1 had been received for Ayres and his officers, and for William Burke and his two lieutenants chosen for the *Warren*—William Ryan and Thomas Lewis. The former, a Marblehead mariner, later turned to privateering, but Lewis stayed with the schooner to the end of her career. Outfitting the *Warren* had moved slowly, lagging far behind that of the *Lynch*, whose captain, perhaps, was a more aggressive man.

Before them, however, the *Fowey* had forsaken her anchorage and returned to Boston. Beverly, Salem and Marblehead harbors were free of British cruisers for the first time in almost two months.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Libels, Bills and Bombardments

JOHN MANLEY'S stout defense of his prizes against the British armed schooner confirmed Washington's choice of this energetic officer as commodore. Memory of inept captains of the previous fall and certain misgivings about newer appointees were apparent in his acknowledgment of Manley's report from Plymouth.

"Your conduct in engaging the eight gun schooner, with so few hands as you went out with," he began, "your attention in securing your prizes, and your general good behaviour since you first engaged in the service, merit my own and your country's thanks." He had advised the captains of Manley's appointment, he added, and they "dare not disobey your orders, as it is mentioned in the instructions I have given to each of them, that they are to be under your command as commodore; and as such I desire that you will give them such instructions in writing, as to you will appear proper for the good of the service."

Upon Manley's request for something better than the *Hancock*, his Excellency postponed decision. Procuring and equipping a stronger vessel would take time, so the captain should continue in the schooner to the end of the cruise. "When that is out," Washington wrote, "you will come to Head-Quarters, and we will confer together on the subject of the other ship." To signalize the deeds of the new commodore, Washington specified the "parole" in general orders for January 29 should be "Manly." He never learned to spell the name!

How the cruise had ended abruptly shortly afterwards, Washington learned when the captain appeared at Cambridge a few days later. Manley reported that the *Hancock* had been found sea-

worthy and was being refitted. Washington, of course, was no nearer ready to supply a larger ship, but they discussed possible vessels, including two captured by the captain the previous December. No commitment was made. Manley was induced to return to Scituate and continue his cruise.[1]

The principal deterrent to action upon any vessel taken by the Continental cruisers was the fact that not one of the prizes had yet been tried. Libels had been filed, but none had been advertised. The whole procedure was in abeyance pending alterations or amendments being made by the Massachusetts General Court in a "Bill for encouraging the fitting out of Armed Vessels to defend the Sea-Coast of America, and for erecting a Court to try and condemn all Vessels that should be found infesting the same." It was most irritating to have prolonged anew the time between capture and payment of prize money.

Jonathan Glover came down from Marblehead much perturbed over the matter, too, but from a different cause. The act hit the pocketbooks of the agents. As worded, sale of prizes would be vested in the sheriff of the county, whereas Washington's agreement with the agents provided that they should sell all Continental prizes and be allowed a commission of two and one-half percent on the proceeds. Washington was more than sympathetic as the agents were already in advance for the armed vessels. An act which eliminated their commission on Continental prize sales would, in turn, bring about resignations, and leave the affairs of the schooners and the army exchequer in a woeful plight. A rather forceful letter went to the speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, "requesting that no future impediments may arise after Condemnation of these Vessels to interrupt the Sale of them and Cargoes." A clause specifying that all vessels taken by cruisers fitted out at Continental expense should be given up to his Excellency's agents immediately after condemnation, would answer this purpose.

Washington complained to Congress that the "unavoidable delay attending the bringing the captures to trial is grievously complained of by the masters of these vessels, as well as the captors. Many of the former have applied for liberty to go away without awaiting the decision, which I have granted them." Captive masters, as evidenced by Captains Hunter, Lowrie and Foster, thought it better

to accept the indulgence of returning to England prior to April 1, rather than the dubious advantage of a longer stay with a slim chance of recovering their vessels, but a surer one of losing their personal liberty.

While he might politely advise Congress of an "unavoidable delay" in the matter of prize condemnations, he was caustic in his comment to his former secretary, Joseph Reed: "Some irreconcilable differences arising between the resolves of Congress, and the law of this colony respecting the proceedings, or something or another which always happens to procrastinate business here, has put a total stop to the trials, to the no small injury of the public as well as the great grievance of individuals."

Stephen Moylan had instructed William Watson to libel the ships *Happy Return* and *Norfolk* in the admiralty court for the southern district, with the comment that "the sooner they are brought to trial the more agreeable it will be to the General." Similarly, Winthrop Sargent was ordered to libel against the brig *Henry and Esther* sent into Squam by Tucker and Waters, and to proselyte among her British merchant seamen. "If the sailors will engage on board any of our armed vessels for twelve months," Moylan wrote to the agent, "they will be entitled to one month's advance pay." He cautioned that they be dispersed "so that many of them may not be on board any one vessel."

The Massachusetts Assembly on February 20 finally enacted the revised bill for fitting out armed vessels and erecting admiralty courts. It contained the desired amendment, awarding condemned prizes captured by Washington's armed schooners to his agents for disposal. With the last hurdle seemingly surmounted, libels against all the vessels being guarded at Beverly were published on February 26 in the Boston *Gazette*, then being printed in Watertown. These embraced the ships *Concord* and *Jenny*, brigantines *Nancy* and *Little Hannah*, and sloops *Polly* and *Betsey*, all taken by Manley in 1775; sloop *Sally*, recaptured by Winborn Adams at Christmas time, and brigantine *Henry and Esther*, taken by Tucker and Waters at the beginning of February. The admiralty court for the middle district would sit at Ipswich with the trials spread over three days, March 18, 20 and 28. Due notice was given so that "owners of the aforesaid vessels, or any persons concerned therein,

may appear and shew cause, if any they have, why the vessels, or any of them with their cargoes and appurtenances should not be condemned." Advertisements of libels against the Continental prizes at Plymouth appeared about a month later, trials in the southern district being set for April 15.[2]

Regardless of outcome of the trials, Washington had helped himself from the prize cargoes for the use of the army. Congress had approved of his intention to seize much of the goods in the *Concord.* From that ship alone during January and February, the Quartermaster General received more than a hundred chaldrons of coal, twenty-two casks of shoes, and seven boxes and bales of cloth and blankets. In the same period corn and oats from the sloop *Betsey* had been carted to headquarters by a dozen wagoners. The *Jenny*'s hold had disgorged forty-three chaldrons of coal, which had reached camp in February. Stephen Moylan ordered a hundred tons sent up out of the *Happy Return* and the *Norfolk,* and warned William Watson that "his Excellency desires you would be careful to prevent a waste of this article, as it will be very much wanted for the publick works."

After being freed from the ice in Plymouth harbor, the *Harrison* made two short fruitless cruises, and was so badly in need of repairs that Washington ordered her out of commission, reducing his navy to five vessels. William Coit had been right about the *Harrison* after all.[3] A strict injunction went to Watson "that particular care be taken of every article belonging to the Continent on board." It was a necessary measure of economy. The army's supply of money had about run out, and, as Washington remarked, "nothing can be done with out." He had begun to feel the pinch earlier in the month, and had borrowed £25,000 from Massachusetts to tide him over to the next remittance from Congress.

This scarcity of cash led him to turn down a request from William Bartlett for two thousand dollars. He had sent that agent a like amount less than ten days before, and was "much surprised at your fresh demand." Bartlett needed the money to pay for the hire of the various schooners, these charges having been deferred from time to time apparently while more pressing bills were being met. There had been upwards of ten thousand dollars advanced upon the armed vessels, Moylan pointed out, while very few ac-

counts had been brought in, so his Excellency desired Bartlett to "send in yours as soon as possible."

Bartlett rushed his accounts to headquarters on March 1. They totalled better than £2,500, and covered hiring, outfitting and provisioning the schooners at Beverly, including also one month's advance pay for each. Outfitting and provisioning accounts ran to March 1, but the hiring only to the end of the previous year. As the cost of the *Harrison* and the *Washington* had amounted to more than one thousand pounds, his Excellency's navy was proving a costly venture.[4]

Momentous events began the day the Beverly accounts were received. On Saturday night, March 2, the batteries at Cobble Hill, Lechmere Point and Lamb's Dam opened a thunderous cannonade upon Boston. The bombardment, continuing for three straight nights, was to draw enemy attention away from the army objective—fortifying Dorchester Heights. On the first night, owing either to defective casting or inexperienced bombardiers, one 13-inch and two 10-inch iron mortars burst. The second night, Israel Putnam's pet, the "Congress," pride of the ordnance corps, the 13-inch brass mortar from Manley's prize brig *Nancy*, blew up with a thundering roar. Despite the loss of these pieces and another 10-inch mortar on Monday, a total of 140 shot and thirteen shells went hurtling into the British lines in and around Boston on the last night of the cannonading. That night, with the enemy unsuspecting and completely duped by the artillery fire, the Dorchester hills were occupied.

The rest of the story is a familiar one: how General Howe moved troops to Castle William preparatory to a grand assault; how a terrific storm on the night of March 5 washed and blew away all British hopes (albeit slim ones) for a successful operation against Dorchester; how Boston became untenable for the enemy from then on, and how plans for a hasty evacuation began.

By March 9 Washington was sure the British were preparing to decamp. He had written a very long letter to Congress two days before, but it remained unfinished and unsent, awaiting a good opportunity to dispatch it, and the hope that he would have better information about Howe's intentions and destination. Rumor said the enemy was bound for Halifax; Washington suspected New York

would be the next objective. It was agreed by all hands, he admitted, that when the enemy determined to go there was "no possibility of stopping them."

"I shall order look-outs to be kept upon all the headlands to discover their movements and courses," he advised Congress, "and, moreover direct Commodore Manly and his little squadron to dog them, as well for the same purpose, as for picking up any of their vessels, that may chance to depart their convoy."

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Manley's Squadron Cruises and Boston is Evacuated

WITH THE HANCOCK refitted, John Manley sailed into Beverly from Scituate as February ended. He hoisted a pennant "at the Main Topmast Gallant head as a mark of Distinction," and took command, as commodore, of his Excellency's navy. Washington had urged stations appointed where the captains would have the best chance of intercepting supply ships. This would suggest a specific area for each schooner (as had been the practice in 1775), or for two or three to act in concert. Instead, the five vessels were directed to rendezvous in Gloucester harbor as a fleet. This might indicate Manley's conception of what was desired; a belief that strength lay in unity, and that Massachusetts Bay could thus best be swept. Or it may have been his desire to command an assembled force suitable to his new rank, regardless of its efficiency. Discontent at the smallness of his own vessel he already had expressed. It is not unlikely that his ego played no small part in the course he took.

The *Warren* was still without some of her guns and most of her provisions, so the commodore, perforce, had to be content with four schooners for the initial cruise. Two of these, the *Franklin* and the *Lee,* Tucker and Waters, awaited him at Cape Ann.[1] The third, the *Lynch,* commanded by Ayres, was ready to accompany him to sea. Before either could sail they had to reckon with two enemy vessels which had renewed blockade of the three harbors. One was the *Fowey,* returned from Boston; the other, an old opponent, the sixteen-gun sloop *Nautilus,* Captain John Collins. The frigate lay

near Little Misery Island, guarding the channel between Great Misery and the main and the Baker's Island channel. The sloop rode at single anchor near Cat Island, keeping watch on Marblehead harbor, and the stretch northeastward to Baker's Island.

To evade them called for a dark night and a good northwest breeze; also, it would be necessary to go out on different nights rather than risk both schooners in a joint attempt. The wind veered towards the proper quarter on the evening of February 29, and by midnight was blowing briskly at N.N.W. The air was frosty, the night black; an ideal opportunity. The *Hancock* slipped stealthily forth, and ran for Baker's Island channel. The *Fowey* glimpsed her and opened fire with three 9-pound shots. Manley already was beyond reach.

Twenty-four hours later, a similar night and the wind still from the west gave the *Lynch* her chance. Again, shortly after midnight on the morning of March 2, the *Fowey* "fired at a schooner running out." Ayres steered to the south of Baker's Island, so the *Nautilus*, being nearer, weighed and stood after her. The *Lynch* had passed from sight in the darkness before his Majesty's sloop could shake out any canvas, so Captain Collins abandoned pursuit and steered for Boston.[2]

That night the first guns of the bombardment of Boston sent echoes reverberating over Massachusetts Bay. A strong wind, now blowing from the southwest, carried the mounting roar across to the ears of the crews of his Excellency's armed schooners safely rendezvoused in Cape Ann harbor. On March 4, with the nightly cannonading at its peak, Manley raised his broad pennant and the little fleet stood down the open roadstead. Around Eastern Point they sailed, and then due eastward.

South of Milk Island, a tiny speck of land below Thatcher's Island, an enemy cruiser came up next morning to investigate. If she were of less force than a twenty-gun sloop, the four schooners might well test their mettle. She was the brig *Hope*, Captain Dawson, although Manley probably did not recognize her as the vessel which had run him ashore more than a month before. Against the *Hope*'s eight 4-pounders and six 3-pounders, the schooners had a combined fire power of sixteen 4-pounders and eight 2-pounders. No two of them were a match for the British brig, but

acting in unison, the four might give her a lesson. So it happened. No details of the engagement are available, but John Rowe, a Boston merchant with patriotic leanings, summed it up in a diary entry. "Captain Dawson is returned," he wrote on March 10. "He had a severe brush with four privateers."

Unknown to Manley and his fellow captains, the bombardment of Boston had removed, for the time being, danger of further encounters with enemy vessels. At the time Washington loosed his mortars and heavy guns on the besieged British, Admiral Shuldham had more cruisers scouring neighboring waters than ever before. On March 7, when General Howe found his position untenable, Shuldham, in the *Chatham*, dropped down to King road, the stretch of water between Castle and Deer islands, and next morning he dispatched the *Nautilus*, just arrived from off Marblehead, with orders "for all Cruisers in the Bay" to join him. Obediently they came into Nantasket, arriving that same afternoon or next morning.[3]

The day after drubbing the *Hope*, and northeast of Thatcher's Island, Manley's squadron took its first prize. She was the ship *Susannah*, John Frazer, master, from London, of 300 tons burden, with a cargo of coal, cheese and porter bound for Boston. Manley changed her destination to Portsmouth and accompanied her in, where Frazer and his crew were delivered to Joshua Wentworth. Manley and his consorts remained in port forty-eight hours. In that time the crews of the schooners plundered the master of the *Susannah* of private property to the amount of about sixty-three pounds sterling; this despite repeated warnings given to all captains "to guard against this So ignominious behaviour of the people on board their vessels." Wentworth had his instructions on thievery, namely, "get the Sufferers attestation of their Loss, Let them be paid, the Captains must find out who the plunderers were, & bestow such punishment as is due for their Crimes, the Sum paid must be deducted from their Share of the prize—if they Cannot fix upon defaulters, it must become a charge against the one third given to the Captors by the Continent." The squadron went off before the agent completed his investigation, so the master's loss was made good by an advance on the expected proceeds from the sale of the *Susannah* and her cargo, if and when condemned.

The fleet had sailed out past the Isle of Shoals to cruise off

Cape Ann, that headland being usually the first landmark on the American continent made by transports headed for Boston. Generally a cruiser would be in that area, too. Unaware of their good luck in having none to contend with, the schooners kept wary eyes on the surrounding waters. Their second prize was taken on Sunday afternoon, March 10—another Boston-bound transport. She was the ship *Stakesby*, James Watt, master, from London, of 300 tons burden, and with a cargo of porter and sauerkraut in casks, coal, cheese, vinegar, and three hogs, all that remained of 164, after seventeen weeks of passage.

Finding the wind favorable, the squadron escorted the *Stakesby* towards Gloucester. Darkness and fog closed about them with Gloucester still some miles away. Expert conning was needed to get through the foul, narrow passage to the harbor. Neither the transport nor the *Hancock* had proper pilots for such a night. The prize piled up on the rocks three miles south of Gloucester at the entrance of Cape Ann Bay. The *Hancock* struck upon a submerged ledge, but went grinding over into deeper water, sustaining considerable damage. The *Lee*, the *Franklin* and the *Lynch* got in safely, standing by the commodore as he limped for Gloucester.

Winthrop Sargent had a salvage crew on board the *Stakesby* by daylight. She had bilged. There was no possibility of getting her off the rocks. The agent advised Cambridge he would do all in his power to save part of the cargo, although most of it would be lost. During the next few days, salvagers removed nineteen barrels and seventeen quarter casks of porter, nine hogsheads of vinegar and two barrels of sauerkraut, along with sails, running rigging, two cables, three anchors and two boats. The remaining three hogs had been drowned. Sargent entertained hopes of saving more cargo.

Optimism vanished on Friday night, March 15, when Manley's *bête noire*, his Majesty's brig *Hope*, Captain Dawson, appeared. Shuldham had dispatched her on a cruise, the first vessel to be released from Nantasket road. She had come in close enough to Cape Ann to see the *Stakesby* on the rocks. Sargent told of what then happened: "Last night Cap^{t} Dosson had the Impudence to Run in & set fier to the Ship it being high warter Our Guns would not reach him & She is burnt down to the water. This Low warter If the Storm seases we Shall sea what we Can Git Out of the Ship

the Poor Capt Whatts has Lost all his Venter being about 150 Sterling."

Unfortunately the storm, which blew up just after Dawson had fired the ship, did not "sease" for better than twenty-four hours. Instead it grew worse. As the wrecked and burned hull disintegrated, the remaining hogsheads and barrels were washed ashore and stove against the rocks. Not another cask was saved.

Before Manley was ready to sail from Gloucester the British had evacuated Boston, and Washington's orders to dog them had been received. That proved more difficult than it sounded, for Shuldham now had three cruisers out in the bay and several more riding in Nantasket road. The army and the evacuated Tories, in a motley array of transports, still lay in King road, and Howe's force had not yet abandoned Castle William. That last stronghold the British demolished on the night of March 20. It made a monstrous conflagration, illuminating the dark sky, and visible in Gloucester as well as in Plymouth, many miles to the south. Down Plymouth way, in fact, people thought it meant "nothing less than the burning of the town of Boston."

The four schooners sailed out of Cape Ann harbor toward the distant glow before dawn on Thursday, March 21, and by afternoon, some three or four leagues off the lighthouse, gave chase to a merchant brig. By six o'clock they were near enough to fire upon her, whereupon she let fly all her sails and hove to. The pursuit had attracted two of his Majesty's cruisers, coming out of Nantasket road: the eight-gun sloop *Savage*, and the six-gun brig *Diligent*. Manley saw it was impossible to take possession of the prize and ordered his consorts to stand southward. The rescued brig, from Antigua with coal, porter and sauerkraut, hauled up her flapping sails and scuttled for Nantasket. The attack had been so audacious and pressed so near home that from the lighthouse, as the schooners fled southward, one of them could be seen to fly a broad pennant. That, of course, was Manley in the *Hancock*.

Through early evening and long after dark, the *Savage* and the *Diligent* chased the schooners. Plymouth was the haven sought by the fleeing captains. They rounded into Plymouth Bay, about ten o'clock, and watchers on the Gurnet, as a warning that enemy vessels were off the coast, lighted two signal fires and fired several guns.

The British sloop and brig gave over pursuit and beat back for Boston.

Advent of the schooners produced a humorous and mounting panic in Plymouth town. The signal fires and warning guns were misinterpreted as the enemy attacking and burning the houses on the point. A boat was sent to investigate, and returned with "terrible accounts that there were three or four large ships within the Gurnet, and that they were landing their men very fast." These alarming tidings, magnified as they passed from mouth to mouth, caused consternation to reach proportions of hysteria. A fire was kindled on the burying ground hill and messengers were sent off to call in the militia from neighboring towns. Several frantic riders went as far as Middleborough and Wareham, twenty or thirty miles away. Many frightened inhabitants piled wives, children, baggage and stray pieces of furniture into carts and headed off into the back country. With dawn, Plymouth folk discovered "to their great joy," that the fleet which had terrorized them was none other than Manley and his armed schooners, "and so ended this mighty affair." [4]

When the fleet ventured from Plymouth a day or two later, Manley found that General Howe and Admiral Shuldham were still at anchor in the roadstead. One large fleet of transports, under convoy of two frigates, sailed on the afternoon of March 25. Winthrop Sargent, from Gloucester, reported them at sundown, passing Cape Ann about six leagues off shore. Manley at last divided his squadron. He detached Tucker and Burke, who had joined them in the *Warren*, to follow and try to pick up a stray. The *Franklin* and the *Warren* dodged the convoy for several days. The weather proved a British ally, for at no time was it rough enough to separate the fleet, while mild southwest winds carried it easily along. When on March 28, Cape Sable was visible some three leagues to the northward, the schooners gave up hope of prize-taking and turned southward. Shortly thereafter they separated.

The *Warren* remained north of Cape Ann. The *Franklin* continued around the cape, and on the morning of April 2 was discovered by the frigate *Milford*, just arrived on the American station. Tucker was standing in around Thatcher's Island at the time, and headed for Gloucester with every sail set. The pursuit was fast

and furious, the frigate opening fire when it became apparent the schooner could not be headed. Eight shots whistled over the *Franklin*, but missed the little target, and, as the *Milford*'s log recorded it, "the Chace proved to be a pirate Schooner from Cape Ann Harb[r] where she got in." [5]

As the bulk of British shipping still lay in Nantasket, Manley, Waters and Ayres hovered on watch. On the afternoon of March 27 two fifty-gun ships, a frigate and an armed schooner herded the army transports out past the lighthouse and set sail northeasterly across Boston Bay. Still riding in Nantasket was the *Renown*, another fifty-gun ship, with a frigate, the brig *Hope*, and several transports. Captain Francis Banks had raised over the *Renown* a "Distinguishing Pendant," having been detailed to take command of the few remaining vessels and employ them cruising in the track of such transports as might be bound for Boston, and divert them to Halifax.

John Manley did not know of Captain Banks's orders, but he and his consorts followed the main fleet, with an eye to stragglers. They trailed it until the end of the month, and then, well into Nova Scotian waters, headed homeward. Fifteen leagues off Cape Ann in the late afternoon of April 2, Manley sighted a brig. She fled from him, but was too heavily laden to make much headway. The *Hancock* came up with her, and Manley ordered her to strike. She paid no attention, so he poured a broadside into her. She replied with scattered musketry and small arms fire. Before he could give her a second dose of 6-pound shot, her commander gave up.

The prize was a straggler from the British fleet, the *Elizabeth*, Peter Ramsey, master, "loaded with valuable goods, chiefly belonging," according to General Howe, "to persons deemed to be highly disaffected to government." In plain words, the goods had been looted by British orders from the warehouses of Boston's rebel merchants. On board were Crean Brush, formerly of New York, "but lately a most bitter refugee in Boston"; William Jackson, "the noted importer"; Caleb Whitten, "bad man," with his two sons; seven other Tories, all of somewhat sordid reputation; a sergeant with twelve privates; a British midshipman; a number of women and children; and four negroes; to say nothing of the brig's crew, making a total of sixty-three persons.

Manley did not know how General Howe would bemoan the loss of the *Elizabeth* because "there were a quantity of shoes on board, which are much wanted for the soldiery, as well as woolen articles that would have been very useful to them." The brig had missed the first two convoys due to a vast shifting to her of confiscated goods from other bottoms. This had been desired by Crean Brush, who had a commission from General Howe to seize all goods in Boston, which, "if in the possession of the rebels might enable them to carry on war." Brush and his party had "behaved very insolently and with great rapacity," stealing many things and plundering numerous shops. The *Elizabeth* had sailed from Nantasket on March 29 with two other transports under convoy of a frigate. She had separated from them on March 31 in a snow and rain storm, and the following morning had been pursued by the *Milford*. That frigate "Spoke the Brig & ordered her to make the best of her way to Halifax." A convoy instead of advice might have saved the cargo whose loss General Howe bemoaned so greatly.

All Tories (save Brush, Jackson and a Mr. Keighley), together with the soldiers and their wives and children, a total of twenty-two, were transferred to the *Lee*. Manley took the three principal captives on board the *Hancock*. The rest were stowed below deck in the *Lynch*. Waters was directed to carry the Tories, wives, children and soldiers to Squam, on the north side of Cape Ann, and send them across to Gloucester. Manning the *Elizabeth* with a prize crew, the *Hancock* and the *Lynch* escorted her into Portsmouth, arriving on April 4.

Joshua Wentworth estimated the cargo as worth £20,000 sterling. He was aghast at its condition. It seemed to him that the ownership of the property was vested "in him who could secrete the most." He examined chests and bedding and found "great quantities of goods that they had collected . . . out of warehouses without packing, and hove promiscously on board the vessel . . . for their disposal at pleasure." Destruction of property he thought "unparalleled." Wentworth searched the three Tories and found about £130 sterling, and £159 in bills of exchange, mostly on the person of William Jackson.

Richard Hart, a Portsmouth merchant, thereupon claimed the *Elizabeth*. She had been bound for Portsmouth from Montserrat

with a cargo of sugar and rum the previous October, he said, and had been taken and carried into Boston. To substantiate his claim, four hogsheads of sugar and seventeen of rum, which had not been removed since her capture six months before, were found on board. Also, the brig had never been condemned in admiralty court in Boston. It was too involved for Wentworth and Manley. They set off for Cambridge to secure Washington's advice, particularly as New Hampshire had not as yet provided for a maritime court to handle prizes. Ayres was left to guard the prize and Lieutenant Stiles sailed the *Hancock* for Beverly. The Tories were sent under guard to headquarters.

Meanwhile, Waters landed his prisoners at Squam. Winthrop Sargent had no jail facilities in Gloucester. Samuel Tucker offered to carry them to Salem in the *Franklin*. In due time he delivered them to the Committee of Correspondence, which made "comfortable provisions for the entertainment" of the ladies and children, and asked the Massachusetts General Court what should be done with them, as well as with the soldiers and others.

The first cruise of his Excellency's navy thus ended: the *Lynch* at Portsmouth, the *Lee* at Cape Ann, the *Franklin* and the *Hancock* at Beverly, and the *Warren* somewhere in the bay. The success of the little squadron brought forth a recruiting ballad lauding John Manley in crude poetry, and depicting him in a cruder woodcut.

MANLY

A FAVORITE NEW

SONG,

In the AMERICAN FLEET

Moſt humbly Addreſſed to all the JOLLY TARS who are fighting for the RIGHTS and LIBERTIES of AMERICA.

Peabody Museum

Captain John Manley, from a woodcut in a Salem broadside.
See Appendix A.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Washington Exercises Remote Control and Manley Resigns

UNTIL THE LAST British transport disappeared over the horizon on March 27, Washington had not relaxed precautions against a surprise attack. Why the fleet lingered in Nantasket road he had been unable to fathom. "What they are doing, the Lord knows," he wrote, adding he was sure Howe and Shuldham would "want to retrieve their disgrace before they got off." Hence his relief to have them sail away without attempting anything remotely resembling an offensive movement. As New York was "the most important objective they can have in view," he had started his army marching by brigades for that city even while the enemy still lay below. In anticipation of his own departure, he was grooming the very ill and very reluctant Major General Artemus Ward to assume the New England command.

Naval affairs required Washington's attention even amid the task of transferring an army across three provinces, and providing defenses for Boston. A survey disclosed many vessels at the town's various wharves, prizes brought in under the regimes of Graves and Shuldham. Some had cargoes, others none. Many had been partially scuttled, but among them, undamaged, was "The Brig Washington [lately] commanded by Captain Martindale, with all her guns." Owners of that unlucky vessel long before had been compensated for her loss. Not so owners of other vessels, who came forward with claims for their property. It posed a problem which Washington referred to Congress. Should the vessels be restored

to their former owners, or should they belong to the Continent as recaptures?

"I wish Congress would direct a mode of proceeding against them, and establish a rule for decision," he requested on March 24. "They appear to me to be highly necessary."

To add to the futility of trying to expedite prize matters, the Massachusetts General Court had begun to revise the revisions of the revised "Act for encouraging the fixing out of Armed Vessels to defend the Sea Coast of America, and for erecting a Court to try and condemn all Vessels that should be found infesting the same." That bespoke more delay, as, "it being inexpedient that these Courts should be held until some further regulations shall be made," Judge Pickering was ordered to adjourn his sessions at Ipswich until April 1. "This procrastination," Washington remarked, "is attended with very bad consequences." [1]

Indication of the uncertainty felt whenever prize questions arose was voiced by Stephen Moylan in a letter to William Bartlett. "If we should move off from hence before the Condemnation of any of the prizes," he wrote, "you must acquaint the General whereever he is & receive his orders for the day of Sale." Moylan also wanted a bill for various articles Bartlett had supplied upon his Excellency's private account—largely for the comestibles and comfits for Mrs. Washington—so "it may be settled before his departure."

Two days before Washington left Cambridge he received a return of the artillery and stores on board the armed schooners and in reserve in Beverly. For the first time he learned the actual armament of his little navy:

Hancock: six 4-pounders
Lee: four 4-pounders, two 2-pounders
Lynch: four 4-pounders, two 2-pounders
Franklin: two 4-pounders, four 2-pounders
Warren: four 4-pounders

Each had ten swivels. In Beverly were forty cartridges for 4-pounders, and three half-barrels of powder.

Final orders to Major General Ward indicated Washington's intention of keeping his fleet in operation despite his own absence

from the scene. One-third of them related to naval subjects, either to the armed schooners or to prize matters, thus:

Every necessary protection should be given stores and vessels at Beverly. For that purpose, Glover's regiment would remain there.

Vessels found in Boston should not be delivered up without an exact inventory being taken and surety given that the claimants would abide by eventual determination of Congress.

All captures made by Continental armed vessels should be libeled against without delay in the court of admiralty of the district into which they were carried.

When captures were condemned, date of sale along with enumeration of the cargoes should be advertised three times in newspapers of Boston, Cambridge, Watertown, or Worcester.

Before sale, Ward should secure a cargo report so that items needed in the Commissary or Quartermaster departments could be purchased for the Continent.

"All Officers, Soldiers and Men of Wars Men" should be considered as prisoners, officers to be sent to some inland town and others to be jailed wherever the Massachusetts General Court might direct.

Officers and seamen taken in transport vessels should be released "on Condition they give a strict parole not to act against the American Colonies during the present Contest." This extended a clemency which previously was to have ended on April 1.

Next day, April 4, Washington dashed off a letter to Richard Henry Lee in Congress. The British evacuation was "really a flight." He was happy to find the coast clear of them, "except the Renown (a fifty gun ship) and one or two frigates, which remain here, for the protection of such transports as shall be bound to this port." Before nightfall, he was on his way to New York.

Two days later Joshua Wentworth and John Manley arrived from Portsmouth, seeking his Excellency. They found, instead, the ailing Artemus Ward. They reported Howe's likely destination to be Halifax, and announced the capture of the brig *Elizabeth*. Wentworth propounded his problem. The goods on the *Elizabeth*, he explained, "are the greatest part owned by the late inhabitants of Boston, and by some who were inhabitants when the troops left it; the residue by Mr. Jackson, and others of the same cast." Went-

worth had been told that by a resolve of Congress "all vessels and goods retaken previous to a condemnation by a British Court of Admiralty were liable to a partial decree (by every Colony Judge) to the captors not more than one-third nor less than one-fourth." The *Elizabeth*, he felt, fell into this category, although enemy goods on board should be subject to full condemnation.

Ward consulted his orders from Washington and remarked that "he had received no instructions on the point." He was obliging enough to give an opinion, "that the vessel and cargo must be libelled and a dividend to the captors would follow, of all such good as might be legally claimed by the friends to America; and those that were the property of persons inimical, might be decreed forfeit." This confirmed Wentworth's opinion, but, unfortunately, as he pointed out, New Hampshire had not set up machinery for such action. That stumped the commanding general.

In the next few days, Wentworth talked with some Boston merchants whose goods had been seized by Crean Brush, and found they believed everything taken should be returned without any charge. One or two implied they would sue, if necessary, to recover their property. The agent returned to Portsmouth no wiser than before, and passed the problem on to Washington, asking for "your full direction of this capture and a copy of the Continental resolve thereon." Could he, by public or private sale, dispose of perishables in the *Elizabeth*, as well as porter out of the *Susannah*? His closing observation struck the same old frustration chord. Adjournment of the New Hampshire General Court until June "will not admit my facilitating the disposal of the prizes under my care as early as I could wish."

While interested in the *Elizabeth* and her cargo, John Manley's journey to Boston primarily had been to seek a settlement from his Excellency for the *Nancy*'s ordnance stores. He believed he and his crew were entitled to one-third of the value of the stores taken for the use of the army regardless of any admiralty court decision. As Ward could give him no satisfaction, he wrote to Washington, asking how much the captors' share would be and when it would be paid.

Colonel Glover also came to Boston on a mission relating to his Excellency's navy. He requested a warrant on the Paymaster

General " to pay those men who are in the service of the Continent on board the Continental privateers just arrived from a cruise." Unless they were paid, nothing would induce them to go out again. William Bartlett had seconded the request. Again Ward consulted his instructions, but found no authorization to grant such a warrant. Washington had not left enough money in the treasury " to pay the five regiments which remain here for the month of March." He ordered Glover " to supply the places of such men as might leave the privateers out of his own regiment," and on April 11 asked of Washington " your particular directions relative to the above-mentioned applications."

A request from the Massachusetts General Court for men from Glover's regiment to work on fortifications around Boston was refused. " I by no means think it prudent to take any men from Beverly," Ward informed the General Court, " as all the prizes taken from the enemy remain there uncondemned, and considering near fifty of that regiment are on board the Continental privateers."

Crean Brush, William Jackson, Caleb Whitten, his two sons, and all the other Tories taken in the *Elizabeth* had had their day in court. The first two were committed to prison. Whitten and his sons were released under bond upon promising they would " be of good behaviour and will not correspond with any of the enemies of America, or take up arms against the United Colonies." One other Tory, John Hill, after being set at liberty, was reapprehended for " assisting Crean Brush in robbing the inhabitants of the Town of Boston of their goods and merchandises."

The maritime court at Ipswich concluded its recess on April 16. The seven prizes taken in 1775 were, at long last, tried and condemned. The ship *Jenny* and brigantine *Little Hannah* were disposed of on April 16; the sloops *Sally* and *Betsey* next day; and the sloop *Polly*, ship *Concord* and brigantine *Nancy* on April 18. Seven decrees of condemnation were issued on April 23. Six were similar, instructing the agents to sell prize, cargo and appurtenances at public vendue, deduct court and other costs and Judge Pickering's fee from " the monies thence arising," and deliver " to John Manley & his company the captors " the residue " for the use and benefit of said captors and others concerned therein." An exception was the sloop *Sally*, retaken by the *Warren* after being in possession

of the enemy more than ninety-six hours. After deducting costs and fees, proceeds were to be divided, two-thirds to Peter Barbarie of New Jersey, the original owner, and one-third to "Winborn Adams & his Company" for the use of the recaptors and others concerned. Ward ordered Bartlett to advertise all seven prizes for sale on May 20.

The ships *Happy Return* and *Norfolk* had been condemned at Plymouth before Judge Cushing on April 15, and William Watson asked that an early date be set for the sale. Trial of Coit's prizes, he explained, had to be postponed because papers taken from them and sent to Cambridge had never been returned. Here was one delay where responsibility rested entirely upon headquarters.[2]

If ever there had been a time when George Washington gracefully could have abandoned his naval establishment in New England, it was when he and the grand army moved from Boston to New York. With propriety, he could have divested himself of the vexations, disappointments and discouragements engendered by "those rascally privateersmen." But, instead, despite difficulties of remote control, he indicated his intention of maintaining his armed vessels in commission and under his own command despite the fact that Congress had a fleet of its own, and was rapidly assuming all naval jurisdiction.

Washington had little faith in the effectiveness of this fleet under Commodore Esek Hopkins. Some of the observations made in confidence disclose this clearly. They illustrate his misgivings as well as his resentment over concentration on the fleet to the neglect of the army. Enroute from Boston to New York he had reached New London on April 9, the day following the arrival of the Continental fleet after its inglorious encounter with his Majesty's frigate *Glasgow*. The poor opinion of the commodore which Washington carried with him to New York was confirmed by word that the fleet would be obliged to continue in New London some time, as four British frigates were off Block Island. If Hopkins was in no shape to cope with that small British squadron, it was apparent that none of the vessels from the Continental fleet could be sent within any reasonable time around Cape Cod to cruise for British transports in Massachusetts Bay.

Need for larger vessels than his schooners for this purpose led his Excellency to think of his promise to John Manley. He had heard that the ship *Jenny* and the brig *Little Hannah* were suitable for cruisers. His first letter to General Ward upon reaching New York contained instructions to have them examined by a qualified inspector. "If Commodore Manley is in your neighbourhood his opinion of them must have weight," he wrote, "and if they are fit for the purpose he will, of course, have his choice of them, and attend the fixing one of them out. His First Lieutenant can command the Hancock in the meantime." Washington had received Ward's report of the refusal of the schooner crews to continue in service without pay. He had hoped the proceeds of the sale of prizes would by this time have provided the agents with money for that purpose. If there was no possibility of this, he authorized the Boston commander "to give a warrant for as much as will pay the wages due."

Wentworth's inquiry about the *Elizabeth*'s cargo and Manley's request for payment of his and his crew's share in the *Nancy*'s ordnance were his next problems. They required Congressional action, so he referred them to that body on April 25. He asked directions that he might instruct the Portsmouth agent "respecting this complicated cargo." Beyond the specific case of the Tory-manned vessel, he asked Congress if the agent might be empowered to discharge such articles on board prizes in New Hampshire, "which the delay of establishing the Court of Admiralty may make liable to perish."

On the matter of the *Nancy*'s ordnance, he pointed out: "As the inventory of that cargo is in the hands of Congress, I would humbly submit it to them, whether a valuation thereof should be made, and the captors dividend be remitted to them as soon as possible. It will give them spirit and encourage them to be alert in looking out for other prizes."

That the deliberative body in Philadelphia would act with any celerity was beyond Washington's expectations. Past experience had resigned him to delay. An example just then strengthened his belief in the futility of expecting immediate results. More than a month had elapsed since he had asked what should be done with the vessels abandoned by the British in Boston. His request had

been read in Congress on April 2 and referred to a committee. That committee had reported on April 12, but Congress had postponed action until the last day of the month. Then its decision had been to restore the vessels to the former owners, provided they had not been "voluntarily active against the rights of the United Colonies." The Massachusetts General Court was directed to appoint commissioners to hear claims. Washington was relieved of any further responsibility, and could forget that problem for others.[3]

There were plenty of them, one being Ward's report about the *Jenny* and the *Little Hannah.* Captain Gustavus Fellows, a capable shipmaster, and Manley had visited Beverly, he told Washington, and, with Bartlett, gave it as their opinion "that neither of them is fit for the service." His Excellency was astounded; surprised "prodigiously," as he wrote. He had been led to believe by both Manley and Bartlett very differently about the *Jenny.* While disappointed, he was not convinced. He had noted by "the publick prints," both vessels were to be sold on May 20. If purchasers were few and the price below their real value, he wanted Ward to buy them for the Continent.

Ward's bad news continued. He had been obliged to give warrants for the payment of wages to the crews of three of the schooners. But, worse than that, "Commodore Manley declined going on another Cruise until he has a larger Ship, and he says he cannot recommend his first Lieut. for the Command of the Vessel he last sailed in." This advice, however, came as no surprise to Washington. Manley had, no doubt, heard that Congress had commissioned him to command one of the frigates building in Massachusetts. A secretary mistakenly had recorded the new appointee as "William Manly." The name was corrected later in the journal, but so transitory is fame that occasional unwary historians and biographers have repeated the error.[4]

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

The Valor and Death of James Mugford

Deprived of prize money and rewarded only by a niggardly promise of a month's pay wrung from a reluctant Ward, officers and men of the armed schooners at Beverly were in a frame of mind by the beginning of May that might well have put an end to all cruising. Wages for petty officers and seamen were three months in arrears. Commissioned and warrant officers fared even worse. From the barracks, which William Bartlett had rented for the use of the crews when in port, the men could see the prizes moored to Beverly wharves deteriorating in idleness and neglect. They had watched perishables removed and sold; wagons cart away ordnance stores, clothing and grain for the army. They had heard that all captured vessels had been condemned in admiralty court, but it had profited them not at all.

The refusal of John Manley to continue cruising had a devastating influence. If the commodore, whose success had become proverbial, would not remain in the service, why should others? Hence the defections, which Ward had tried to solve by ordering Colonel Glover to complete the crews from his regiment, a regiment which had not been paid since February! When Manley failed to endorse Richard Stiles to succeed him in the *Hancock*, the latter resigned. Six other lieutenants did likewise, turning to the recently opened field of privateering as better than a payless job in his Excellency's navy. Such wholesale departures forced Ward to action despite lack of authorization and absence of instructions. Only the *Hancock* had hands enough to put to sea, so he transferred the senior captain

from the *Franklin* to her: "Captain Samuel Tucker is now appointed to the command of the armed schooner Hancock, in the service of the United Colonies of America, and is to be obeyed as such."

A brevet commission as first lieutenant was issued to Nicholas Bartlett, twenty-six-year-old Marblehead mariner. One month's advance pay of £35.12, wheedled out of William Bartlett by Tucker, took care of a gunner, gunner's mate, and fourteen seamen. Assuming the captain, lieutenant, master, master's mate, boatswain and boatswain's mate went unpaid, the *Hancock*'s complement totalled twenty-two.[1]

Samuel Tucker sailed from Beverly on May 6. Well out in the bay next day, he sighted two brigs standing in for Boston. The wind was out of the east, the quarry unsuspecting as the *Hancock* came up astern. When the British vessels took alarm, escape was impossible, and a warning shot from a 4-pounder brought them to. The captures were made within two miles of the lighthouse and under observation of four men-of-war, an exploit, according to an excited Bostonian, "in plain sight from this town." Tucker's temerity might not have gone unpunished had Commodore Banks not insisted on keeping his cruisers in Nantasket road, instead of permitting them to ride outside. With wind and tide against them, his commanders had no chance of working out in time to chastise the "insolent rebel." Captain Dawson of the *Hope* tried it. He came to sail, "but was prevented By the wind being Easterly." So he fired a few futile shots, while Tucker, famously aided by that same wind, manned the brigs and carried them northwesterly into Lynn, the nearest available port.

The prizes were the *Jane*, of 120 tons burden, James Fulton, master, and the *William*, of one hundred tons, Richard Price, master. The larger brig, from Cork, carried beef, butter, flour, barley, hams, candles, soap and coal. The cargo, worth £6,000 sterling, had been insured at Glasgow. The smaller one, from Fayal in the Azores, had a cargo of wine and fruits. Both masters, unaware of the British evacuation, were bound to Boston "to dispose of their cargoes for the benefit of our unnatural and cruel enemies." Jonathan Glover came down from Marblehead and took charge. Libels were sent to Judge Pickering requesting advertise-

ments "in the Next weeks paper," so both vessels, "May Come to tryal as soon as possible." Pickering obliged, setting June 4 as trial date in Salem.

Ward wrote to Washington that neither master gave any important intelligence, nor had they brought any letters or papers of a public nature. He had queried them about reports that foreign troops were to be employed against America, and Fulton, master of the *Jane*, admitted "he had heard that Hessians and Hanoverians were coming," but he had not heard that any of them had sailed. Both masters were paroled to Salem, where Fulton reported, "We are used very well and have liberty to walk where we please; but when we shall get home, I cannot tell." [2]

Thanks to the initiative of James Mugford, Jr., master and the only remaining officer on board, the *Franklin* had been making rather rapid preparations for cruising. He had secured from Bartlett an advance of a month's wages for ten seamen still continuing on board. A half dozen or more hands were drafted from Glover's regiment. Not awaiting action by the slow-moving Ward, Mugford and Bartlett agreed upon two Marblehead mariners, Thomas Russell and Jeremiah Hibbert, as acting lieutenants. Mugford took command under authority of his master's warrant, and, with a total complement of twenty-one, the *Franklin* sailed out of Beverly on May 15.

Several leagues east of the lighthouse on May 17, Mugford observed a large ship to leeward making for Boston under full sail. He soon established her identity as an armed transport, so heavily laden that she was plodding slowly despite a favorable breeze. A few more leagues and she would find haven with the British vessels in Nantasket road. Mugford weighed his chances. He was close enough to the lighthouse to see the spars of the *Renown* and her consorts visible beyond. Only the wind afforded him an advantage (the same advantage Tucker had seized earlier in the month), by retarding enemy efforts to get to sea. That was sufficient for Mugford. He would carry her by boarding, and get her away before the enemy could come out. And so he did, despite the fact that she mounted six 6- and 4-pounders, a number of swivels, and had a crew of eighteen. As the *Franklin*'s men swarmed aboard, the ship's

master was heard calling to his hands to cut the topsail yard ties, to hamper her sailing. Mugford hailed, threatening instant death to any who attempted to execute the order. No one did, and there was no resistance to the boarding party.

They were in possession of the ship *Hope,* Alexander Lumsdale, master, of 280 tons burden, five weeks from Cork, with a munitions cargo. Mugford leafed through her manifest: 1,000 carbines, complete with bayonets, scabbards, steel rammers, cartridge boxes and slings! Five gun carriages, 10,000 sand bags, 1,500 barrels of gunpowder! What a prize, rivalling in value the ordnance brig *Nancy*! The elated captain of the *Franklin* did not pause to exult. One of his Majesty's cruisers was warping out of Nantasket road; Dawson again, whose log recorded, "saw a Transport taken by the Rebels." Before the Britisher cleared the lighthouse the *Franklin* and her prize were beyond reach.

Mugford determined to take his prize directly to Boston, choosing a narrow and crooked northern channel running between Deer Island and Shirley Point, and commonly called Pulling Point Gut. Seldom used and supposedly only deep enough for fishing vessels or light coasters, the passage was in plain view from Nantasket road, but far beyond reach of enemy guns. He knew it well, and decided the importance of delivering the military stores where they were most needed and not having to cart them from a distant port outweighed the risk of running aground.

As the *Franklin* and prize stood westward through the merging waters of Broad Sound and Nahant Bay, he questioned the skipper of the *Hope.* Lumsdale said he had sailed with nine other transports under convoy of his Majesty's frigate *Greyhound,* but had become separated on May 10 in a heavy fog. A petty officer and two seamen from the frigate had been placed on board the *Hope* before departure from Cork. He did not know why. The reason, as subsequently developed, was a suspicion that Lumsdale "was disaffectedly inclined." A later British belief, that the *Hope* was taken through treachery of her master, does not seem justified. Separation from the convoy had not awakened the petty officer's suspicions. True, no resistance had been made, but the element of surprise could account for that. To offset failure to defend his

command, Lumsdale certainly had sought to disable the rigging to prevent his ship being carried off.

The good people of Boston on Friday, May 17, were observing "a day of humiliation and prayer," upon recommendations made two months earlier by the Continental Congress. The Congress had urged all Americans to offer an humble petition to "the Lord of Hosts, the God of Armies . . . to crown the continental arms by sea and land, with victory and success." Certainly, the *Hope* seemed a timely response to prayer, as "the inhabitants, on leaving their respective places of worship after forenoon's service, had the pleasure of seeing the most valuable prize taken since the commencement of the war, entering the harbour." One devout observer gave thanks to "the almost miraculous interposition of Providence in sending us the prize ship into Boston." [3] Before this priceless cargo could be moored safely in the harbor there were many anxious hours. It being ebb tide when she entered, she grounded in Pulling Point Gut. Jonathan Glover, riding in hot haste from Marblehead, arrived at Shirley Point as the big ship took the bottom. Considering the cargo "of almost inestimable value," he determined to take the greater part of it to town by boat. His procedure was effective:

> I procured Small craft and Before Night got out Twelve Hundred Barrel of Powder I procured a guard of one Hundred & fifty Men from General Ward, Lest the Enemy Should take the Ship By their Boats in the night. I Engaged the Best Pilot in Boston to Carry up the Ship: But he despaired of doing it in the Night, Because he Could not See the Marks, as the Channel was Crooked. I told him I did not chuse to trust her their that Night, and that she must be got up, he said it was Impossible, I then proposed placing at anchor a Number of the Small Vessels with Lanthorns on Board them at the Shallow places and Bends; and after they were thus stationed, the Ship slipping [off] and the wind being fair, we made sail and got her up to Boston Safe at anchor off the Wharf Before day Light.

On the morning of May 18 the *Hope* was examined and estimated to be worth "between 40 and 50,000 Pounds Sterling," including the ships military stores and about £300 "worth of dry goods and a quantity of provisions." General Ward forwarded the bill of lading to his Excellency to prove "that she is a very valuable prize."

Not tempted by adulation to rest on his laurels, James Mugford

detached four men to guard the *Hope* at the wharf and stood across above Apple Island on Sunday afternoon, May 19, to go out the same channel he had come in. Having only seventeen on board, he intended for Beverly where a few seamen might be recruited, or another draft secured from Colonel Glover's regiment. A small privateer, the schooner *Lady Washington*, Captain Joseph Cunningham, elected to bear him company. She also needed hands, having but seven men, including the captain. In Pulling Point Gut, where the *Hope* had grounded on the way up, the *Franklin* did likewise on the way down. It was late afternoon of that warm and not very clear Sabbath day. The tide was ebbing and Mugford, knowing he was stuck in the mud for quite a few hours, moored her with bow to northeast. Cunningham, to avoid a similar mishap, anchored nearby.

Anticipating a possible British attack, Mugford made the best possible disposition to repel it. He had no boarding nets, but the crew was armed with muskets, cutlasses, spears and pistols; his 4- and 2-pounders were charged with musket ball in lieu of grape shot, and a sharp watch was maintained.

In Nantasket road, about three miles south of Shirley Point, Commodore Banks of the *Renown* had begun that same Sabbath with "Prayers to the Ship's Company." It was an unintentional but fitting prelude to a grim day. In midafternoon his Majesty's fifty-gun ship *Experiment*, Captain Robert Keeler, from the West Indies, swung in past the lighthouse, noted the broad pennant flying above the station ship, and dutifully saluted. Then she handed her sails and settled into the routine of the day. About six o'clock a lookout reported that "an armed Schooner Belonging to the Rebels came down and got aground near Pudding Point." Loss of the *Hope* had "intolerably vexed and chagrined" the commodore. This seemed an opportunity to strike a retaliatory blow. He ordered the *Renown*'s barge and pinnace, and the *Experiment*'s barge, pinnace and cutter to be armed and manned for a cutting out expedition after dark. Command was given to the *Renown*'s first lieutenant, Josiah Harris. Two more lieutenants from the station ship, and a lieutenant and several petty officers from the *Experiment* were assigned to the expedition. Approxi-

mately one-half of the hundred enlisted men in the five boats were marines.

Contemporary chroniclers believed the British "formed a design of wreaking their vengeance on the gallant Capt. Mugford." Such surmise credited to enemy acumen and planning more than was deserved. Banks had neither knowledge of who had taken the *Hope*, nor what privateer was ashore to the northward. Likewise these chroniclers were positive that thirteen or more British boats were dispatched, with "at the lowest computation 200 men." However, the actual force still represented great odds to the *Franklin*'s and *Lady Washington*'s total of twenty-four.

At twilight, when the enemy boats pulled away from Nantasket road, the presence of the *Lady Washington* was not suspected. Either she was too small to be observed, or had been discounted as a lighter by the lookout who had spied the *Franklin* aground. The *Renown*'s barge leading, the five boats rowed around the southwestern tip of Long Island and began the longer pull due northward. A little before ten o'clock they picked up the silhouette of the *Franklin* and headed for her.

Mugford hailed when they came within sound of his voice, demanding who they were. Out of the dark came the answer, "From Boston." This was plausible, as the route from Boston merged with the one the British were taking as they neared Pulling Point Gut. But there was a decided English accent in the voice.

"Keep off," Mugford warned. "Keep off, or we'll fire upon you."

"For God's sake, don't fire," was the response. "We are coming on board."

Whereupon Mugford discharged his musket and his men followed his example. Then he cut his cable. The *Franklin* swung across the channel, bringing her broadside to bear. The guns poured their musket ball charges into the oncoming boats. Most of the discharge hit the *Renown*'s barge. Screams rent the night, but muskets flashed and she kept coming on. Three of the boats, each carrying more men than the *Franklin*'s total crew, were against the schooner's side before her cannon could fire again. The other two boats attacked the *Lady Washington*, which the surprised British thought to be an armed brig. This tiny schooner plied her swivels, blunderbusses and muskets to such effect that the enemy never came to

close quarters, probably because they thought she was far larger than she was. As Artemus Ward later reported to his Excellency, with a flourish of rhetorical metaphor most unlike his usual prosaic letters: "They were beaten off by the intrepedity and exertions of the little company, who gloriously defended the lady against the brutal ravishers of liberty."

Meanwhile, with cutlass, spear, musket or pistol stock (for, once discharged, there was no time to reload), the crew of the *Franklin* slashed, stabbed or hammered the heads and hands of the boarders clutching the gunwale. The *Renown*'s barge overturned alongside. Lieutenant Harris, already badly wounded, drowned in the waters of the Gut as did several others. Floundering seamen and marines clung to the side of the remaining boats, discarding their weapons to save themselves. Eighteen muskets, eighteen cutlasses, and eight sets of pistols sank to the bottom. Despite severed fingers and hands and crushed skulls, the enemy came on. They stabbed upwards with long lances, fired muskets and pistols point blank at the defenders, and swung wicked cutlasses trying to drive the *Franklin*'s crew from the bulwarks.

Mugford and his crew performed prodigious feats of valor. One man armed with a spear was positive he killed nine of the enemy, a claim which, in the light of the British causalty list, must be discounted. Nonetheless, the little band of desperate Yankee seamen held the enemy at bay. They bore charmed lives, as well, for, until the last minute of the engagement not a man had been wounded. Then, in repelling the final assault, a lance pierced Mugford's breast, even as his cutlass literally decapitated his assailant. As he fell, he called to Lieutenant Russell in words which became immortal later in the mouth of another hero:

"I'm a dead man! Dont give up the vessel! You will be able to beat them off!"

His death climaxed the vicious half-hour fight. Thoroughly beaten, the remaining four boats drew off, while the victors, saddened by Mugford's death, exulted in the belief that they had killed sixty or seventy of the enemy. Actual British losses were seven—Lieutenant Harris, two marines and two seamen from the *Renown*, and two marines from the *Experiment*. The number wounded was not disclosed. In addition to the *Renown*'s barge, the *Experiment*'s

boats lost two muskets, two pairs of pistols, three swords, six cartridge boxes, and some sails, oars and spars.

At dawn, with high tide, the *Franklin* floated. Bearing the body of her heroic master, she made her way out of Pulling Point Gut and around Nahant Point to Marblehead. News of Mugford's death had preceded her. Wharves and headlands were thronged with people watching with varied emotions "as the victorious seamen sailed up the harbour." Funeral services were held on Wednesday, May 22. "Amid the tolling of bells and firing of minute guns," to quote a Marblehead chronicler, "the body was conveyed to its resting place in the 'Old Burying Ground.'" A detachment from Glover's regiment, the colonel himself commanding, fired a volley across the grave. Wrote a newspaper editor, Mugford "has left this honor to embalm his memory, that he made as brave and vigorous a stand in the defence of American Liberty as any among the living can boast of." [4]

At about the time James Mugford's body was laid at rest, William Bartlett completed sales of the prizes taken in 1775. Armed with Washington's authorization, he bought the *Little Hannah* only. The *Jenny* sold for a price he considered "quite enough for her." The brig he delivered by order of General Ward on May 26 to John Bradford, a Boston merchant and retired sea captain, acting for the Secret Committee of Congress. In view of John Manley's belief that the *Little Hannah* would not do for a vessel of war, Bradford's report about her is of interest. "She's not a year off the stocks," he wrote the Secret Committee, "and Said to be the fastest Sailing vessell in America. twas with some difficulty I perswaded Gen Ward to order the Agent to d[e]l[ive]r her to me." [5]

Of all the prizes sold, the *Sally* was the only one which Bartlett could settle for in full with the captors. Final accounting for the other vessels could be made only when the great quantity of goods taken for the army—from writing paper to the mortar "Congress" —had been valued. Then and then only could he divide the net proceeds, an act, said he, which "would be of infinite service to the poor captors, as well as an encouragement to them to go again into the service."

Six iron-bound boxes from Philadelphia, containing $400,000

"for the use of the troops in New-York and Massachusetts-Bay," were carted into Washington's headquarters on Manhattan Island on May 15. Money at last to relieve Artemus Ward's embarrassments, thought his Excellency. It was not that simple. Congress had not determined whether troops in New England should be paid by the Paymaster General in New York, or by a deputy yet to be appointed in Boston. Incredible as it sounds, four regiments in Boston, one in Beverly, and the crews of the five armed schooners could receive nothing until that detail was resolved. True, a letter from the president of Congress promised a decision by "tomorrow's post." From long experience, Washington could well believe the adage, "Tomorrow never comes."

More heartening was word of Samuel Tucker's success in carrying two brigs into Lynn. It was additional evidence of Washington's contention that, commanded by able and enterprising officers, his armed schooners could continue to prove their worth. He hoped "more of these vessels employed by the Ministerial Army will be picked up." It would in some degree, "compensate for the damage done by seizing those belonging to us."

Then an invitation to attend Congress, somewhat delayed in transit, reached New York on May 19. Washington set out two days later, arriving in Philadelphia on May 23 to learn that no action had been taken on a single naval problem of all those he had propounded by letter to Congress. Committees had been appointed, but their reports had been read and tabled. Such questions as what to do about prizes in colonies where no admiralty court had been erected; how to regard the Tory-manned brig *Elizabeth* carried into Portsmouth; whether the ordnance stores from the *Nancy* should not be valued without further delay, were still unanswered.

Intentionally or otherwise, Congress had superseded his agents in Massachusetts by one of its own choosing. The man who was to replace them was John Bradford, the gentleman who had been acting for the Secret Committee. Bradford was a political follower and sturdy henchman of John Hancock, who had engineered the appointment. Continental agents in all colonies except New Hampshire had been elected. Only the fact that John Langdon, the agent proposed for the latter colony, was a member of Congress, though not in attendance, saved Joshua Wentworth, at Portsmouth,

from going into the discard at the same time. Langdon's election had been postponed until he resigned from Congress.

By neither word nor sign did Washington indicate displeasure over the rude dispossession of his agents. In a prompt move, however, he kept tight control on any munition cargoes that might be sent in by his fleet. On the morning of May 25 he received a letter from General Ward telling of Mugford's capture of the *Hope*, and enclosing her bill of lading. His Excellency thereupon inspired the act of Congress passed that day: "Resolved, That the arms, ammunition and military stores taken by the armed schooner Franklin, or any other of the armed vessels in the pay of the United Colonies, be at the disposal of the General, or commander in chief of the American forces."

No Continental agent, in the face of that resolve, would dare to take possession of any such cargo without securing Washington's sanction. He forwarded directions to Ward for disposition of the *Hope*'s precious lading, commenting that the taking of this "Important and valuable Prize" had been most agreeable intelligence. He was hopeful, "if a vigilant lookout is kept that others not less valuable will fall into our hands." Through the balance of May, Washington idled in Philadelphia, conferring daily with an unwieldy committee of Congress. Then, having received from the president of Congress a polite letter of thanks and tacit dismissal, he set off for New York on June 4. He left behind him a Committee of the Whole arguing about many of the subjects in the report of the committee that had conferred with him. At no time had he been able to induce Congress to consider how the troops in New England and his schooner crews should be paid.[6]

Upon arrival at headquarters he learned of the gallant defense of the *Franklin* and the *Lady Washington*. He was highly pleased with the good behavior of the men. No doubt he was a bit surprised, too, that unpaid men would fight at all. "It is only to be lamented," he wrote Ward, "that the affair was attended with the death of Captain Mugford. He seemed to deserve a better fate."

[The above is the Effigy of the truly brave and heroic Captain JAMES MUGFORD, Junior, late Commander of the Franklin Privateer Schooner, lately fitted out from Marblehead, mounting a few two pounders and ſwivels, and manned with twenty-one men, who on the ſeventeenth of May, 1776, valiantly attacked and took a King's Store-ſhip, of about three hundred tons burthen, bound from Cork to Boſton, mounting ſix carriage guns, beſides ſwivels, and manned with eighteen men, which is eſteemed the richeſt prize that has been brought into any port in the American Colonies ſince the commencement of the war, having on board fifteen hundred barrels of powder, deſigned for the uſe of our cruel and implacable enemies, the Britiſh fleet and army, employed to enſlave the Continent:——This intrepid and gallant HERO, moſt unfortunately for his Country, fell a ſacrifice in defence of its juſt RIGHTS and LIBERTIES, on the nineteenth of the ſame May, in a deſperate engagement with thirteen boats, manned with two hundred ſailors from the Britiſh fleet.

Peabody Museum

James Mugford, Jr., from a woodcut in a Salem broadside.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Taking of the Scotch Transports

THE OTHER THREE schooners of his Excellency's navy were little in evidence while Tucker and Mugford were cruising. They were refitting and recruiting; the *Lynch* at Portsmouth, the *Lee* at Gloucester, and the *Warren* at Beverly. Each had lost a lieutenant by resignation, and numerous seamen had refused to serve longer without pay. Replacement of commissioned personnel was undertaken by the agents, whose advances of a month's wages helped solve crew problems. Not until mid-May, however, were any of the trio ready to take to sea.

About May 13 the *Lynch* cleared Portsmouth to run for Cape Ann. His Majesty's frigate *Milford* spied her under the land making for Gloucester harbor. Seeing the futility of pursuit the Britisher fired two 9-pound shot at her and stood off. She hovered nearby, and when Ayres tried to reach Beverly that same afternoon, the frigate, with a fussilade of 9- and 3-pound shot, drove him back into Cape Ann. Three days later, on the morning that Mugford took the *Hope*, the *Milford* "saw three Privateers to Windward," and pursued them for three hours. The day was hazy and, about four miles east of the lighthouse, she "lost sight of the Chace." This trio were the *Lynch*, the *Lee* and the *Warren*, which had rendezvoused in Cape Ann harbor. On May 27 the *Milford* again saw them and pursued, but again hazy weather baffled her.

In the beginning of June the three schooners put into Beverly, where four men deserted from the *Warren*. Their descriptions, as advertised, attest to the cosmopolitan nature of the crew: an Irish-

man, an Englishman, a Dutchman, and a Marblehead Yankee.[1] The *Warren*'s and *Lee*'s water casks were refilled, and some provisions delivered to all three. On June 5 the trio stood out past Baker's Island on another joint cruise.

Far southeast of Cape Ann and twenty-four hours later, they espied a distant troop transport—British red uniforms being visible through the glass. She was ahead of them, bowling along under a good press of sail, her destination very apparently Boston. After her they went, upon a long, stern chase. The quarry was the ship *Anne*, of 223 tons burden, John Denniston, master, carrying the light infantry company of the first battalion of the Seventy-first Highland regiment—110 rank and file. Also on board were two gentleman volunteers, who, according to an unkind commentator, were "impatiently waiting at 'the Pool' for the death and old Shoes of Commissioned officers," and thirty or forty British tars, coming out as fleet replacements. The cargo consisted of provisions and clothing. She had four cannon—two 6-pounders and two swivels "put on Carriages for Show."

Thirty-five sail of transports, bearing three thousand Highland troops and convoyed by his Majesty's frigate *Flora*, had sailed from Greenock, in Scotland, on April 29, Boston bound. A few days after leaving the Clyde, they were separated by storm. The *Anne* had not sighted a sister transport in more than five weeks' tedious passage. Unaware that Howe no longer held Boston, she approached the coast, and Captain Hamilton Maxwell, commanding the company, and a brother, no less of the Duchess of Gordon, was hoping to sight land within another twenty-four hours. Three schooners coming up astern disturbed him, but when the master clapped on more canvas and outsailed them, he breathed easier. All day long the transport fled westward and by sunset had sighted the lighthouse. The pursuers were still far behind. With nightfall the wind died down and, by midnight, "the ship was becalmed."

Far astern, the *Lee*, the *Lynch* and the *Warren* manned their long sweeps. At dawn they were in position, two under her stern, the other across her bow, where the *Anne*'s two 6-pounders could not be brought to bear. Her swivels were too puny to be effective. On a demand to haul down the Union Jack, Maxwell called a council of war, and it was "resolved to surrender." "I desire you

will represent these Facts," he wrote later to a friend in Scotland. It was well for the reputation of the brother of a duchess that he did so, for the Glasgow *Journal*, in advance of receipt of his letter, had announced disparagingly that the transport had been taken "without firing a Gun, notwithstanding she had six carriage guns on board." [2]

Washington's three captains made quick disposition of the prisoners. Sixty Highlanders were removed to the *Lynch*; the remainder and the sailors, to the *Lee* and the *Warren*. Ayres made for Plymouth, while Waters and Burke escorted the *Anne* towards Marblehead. A breeze had sprung up, and the *Lynch* made off unpursued. The *Lee*, the *Warren* and the prize were spotted by the *Milford*, inbound from a cruise. His Majesty's frigate, "at 8 A M saw 3 Sail in the N.E.Quartr" and gave chase. She was too far off to overtake them, and "at ½ past 11 the Vessels got into Marblehead Harbour."

Colonel Glover sent a detachment to conduct the Highlanders and British seamen to Boston, while his brother Jonathan took charge of the prize. Aside from arms and baggage of the light infantry company, which were given to Colonel Glover for the use of his regiment, the invoice of goods on board was an amazing one for an army transport. It smacked more of a consignment to a mercantile house. Perhaps that was what it was, and a little chicanery at Greenock had given the shipment free transportation in the *Anne*. It included great yardage of checked and striped unbleached linens, checked handkerchiefs, checked shirts, and brown thread stockings, "Tuck in" trousers, men's shoes and pumps, women's shoes, and women's "Thimbells." [3]

Agent Glover had been a busy man for some time before the arrival of the *Anne*; in fact, ever since he had directed the *Hope*'s cargo up to Boston. Of that achievement, he boasted that "for four days and three nights I did not pull off my Cloaths, and scarcely Slept at all." Now, fully involved with the *Anne* and her cargo, he was visited by John Bradford, who came from Boston scenting commissions on the latest prize. The new Continental agent announced his appointment, and quoted from a letter of confirmation he had received from John Hancock: "You will see to the settlement of all Accounts with those who have acted in this

Department heretofore, that there may be no mixture in Accots." Therefore, would Mr. Glover please cease acting as agent for prizes, and account to him for all sent in since April 23, the date of his commission from Congress?

"And where is this commission?" Glover asked.

"It is on its way," he explained.

"Well, I propose to wait until it gets here," said Glover.

Discomfited but not discouraged, Bradford rode to Beverly and called on William Bartlett. This time he referred to no letters but said baldly that he was appointed agent for Massachusetts, with power to deputize whom he thought proper under him: therefore he desired Mr. Bartlett to act no more. Bartlett gave a noncommittal reply and wrote to Washington: "Your Excellency's orders with respect to this, or any other affair, will be gratefully accepted and punctually obeyed."

While Bradford's efforts were being rebuffed by his Excellency's agents, Artemus Ward, his health declining more and more daily, was praying "to be relieved as soon as possible." He had crowded the prisoners from Marblehead and Plymouth into the provost prison in Boston. That structure had not been planned to house, even temporarily, a company of Scotch light infantry and two score British tars. He placed his dilemma before the Massachusetts authorities. "I have now more prisoners of war than can be accomodated in the Jail of this town," he wrote on June 10, "therefore must request the honorable General Assembly to provide proper places for the reception of those now here, and for such as may arrive." A messenger with a flag of truce sent down to the *Renown*, proposing exchange of the seamen, returned in four hours empty-handed, Commodore Banks "not having expected [*sic*] their Treaty." Ward then ordered the officers sent to Concord, and the Assembly authorized use of the workhouse and almshouse in Boston as temporary prisons for the men.

Rumors of thirty or more transports making for Boston in ignorance of its evacuation fired the crews of Washington's armed schooners with enthusiasm for continued cruising. The *Hancock* sailed from Beverly the day the *Anne* was brought in. The *Lynch* did not tarry at Plymouth, nor did the *Lee* and the *Warren* at

Marblehead. The *Franklin*, fully repaired, went to sea on June 9 with a new skipper. The unfortunate Mugford had been succeeded by John Skimmer, former Boston merchant captain, who took command under a brevet commission issued by General Ward. Skimmer had for recommendation a knowledge of naval seamanship and an inherent spirit of bravery. His selection was one of the happiest choices in the history of Washington's navy.[4]

Despite the armed schooners' efforts the Scotch transports, arriving off the coast between June 9 and 13, eluded them. Failure was not due to lack of initiative. Rendezvous of his Excellency's fleet was Cape Ann harbor, and the schooners, singly, or two or three in company, sallied forth diligently to scour the bay. But some of the transports were spoken at sea by his Majesty's frigates and diverted to Halifax. The first effort that nearly succeeded occurred on June 9, some seven or eight leagues off the lighthouse. As the *Hancock* was the only schooner out long enough to attain so distant a point, she was the likely assailant. Dawson, in the *Hope*, spied three sail in the northeast quarter that day, clapped on all the canvas he could carry, and headed toward them: "at ½ past 3 [P. M.] Came up with the Ships found them to be two Ships from Glasgow with Troops, attack'd by a Rebbel Privateer Schooner, fired 3 four Pounders Shotted at her."

One of the transports bore Captain Eneas M'Intosh and his company of the Seventy-first Highlanders. M'Intosh reported that "they fought for seven Glasses and were on the point of being taken, when a Man of War came in Sight and relieved them." Another unsuccessful attack, three days later and twelve leagues east of Boston, was upon the transport *Mermaid*, bearing Captain Peter Campbell's company of the same regiment. The attacker could have been any one of the five schooners. The Scotch company beat her off "after an obstinate Engagement of upwards of four Hours, in which the Highlanders, tho' newly raised, behaved with the Intrepedity of the bravest veterans." The master, a seaman, and three soldiers were wounded on board the *Mermaid*. The *Milford* came up later that day and sent her surgeon on board to treat the wounded men.[5]

Both the *Milford* and the *Hope* had other experiences with Washington's schooners. On June 10 they saw several sail in the

bay "standing toward the Road three of which we discovered to be American Armed Schooners who made in for the Land, as soon as they saw us." Two days later the *Milford* "Saw 3 American Schooners in Chace of us; endeavouring to cut them off from the Shore, they haul'd their Wind and stood in for Cape Ann Harbour." Washington's captains, undaunted in mistaking a frigate for a transport, sallied forth anew, four in number, and the same day happened upon their old opponent, Dawson, in the *Hope*. After him they went and his Majesty's brig incontinently fled. Said Dawson, "3 [P. M.] was Chaced by four Rebbel Privateers. . . . at 5 the Privateers gave up the Chace finding we gained Ground of them." But they had driven the *Hope* clear into Nantasket road.

Early on the morning of June 14 the schooners, fore-gathering just south of Cape Ann, heard a terrific cannonading from the direction of Boston. Sickly, or not, Artemus Ward had planned that morning to destroy the British force remaining in Nantasket road, or drive it from the harbor. Had the wind been easterly, or had the artillery dispatched to Nantasket Head arrived in time, he might have succeeded in bottling the enemy in the roadstead and forcing surrender. But the prevalent breeze was out of the southwest, and "unforseen obstructions" prevented the guns from gaining the desired vantage point in time.

In Nantasket road on June 14 were the *Renown*; the *Hope*, chased in the day before; eight transports carrying about eight hundred Highlanders; and three prizes—thirteen sail in all. At daybreak Commodore Banks "perceived the Rebels had thrown up two very strong Batteries on Long Island," a position dominating his anchorage. He realized his vulnerability, and sent a boat on board the transports to order them underway. Two other boats brought the sick from George's Island, where a temporary hospital had been set up. The commodore's story then runs:

At 5 A M the Rebels began to Fire upon me from the Batteries on Long Island; and likewise hove several Shells. Fir'd 50 Shot at the Rebels— at 7 Unmoor'd & hove Short on the B[es]t. Bower, at 8 they still Firing at me and the Hope, the Transports being safe out in the Road At ½ past 8 Weighed & came to Sail with a light Air, for the Lighthouse Channel. The Hope in ye Road Covering the Sick, Embarking from Georges Island.

In passing the Town of Nantasket [Hull] fir'd Several Shot into it; at 9 Came too with the Bt. Bo. in 5 f[atho]m Water off the light House.

In the lighthouse channel, the fleet was beyond reach of cannon on Long Island, but Banks's respite was brief. The colony artillery train, after numerous viscissitudes enroute, had mounted two heavy guns and a field piece on Quaker Hill on Nantasket Head, from which they fired "a grand salute." The commodore accepted the inevitable. The *Hope* was given the task of destroying the lighthouse. Captain Dawson went ashore and "set it on fire, there being a Quantity of Powder in it, it soon after blew up." By then the *Renown* had weighed, but, there being little wind, Banks sent his boats ahead to tow, "the Rebels keeping an incessant fire on me." By noon, beyond range to the northeast of Point Alderton, the commodore summoned the masters of the transports on board and informed them he would escort them to Halifax.

Far out in the bay the *Milford*, with three transports under convoy, alarmed by distant cannon fire, "saw a great smoke and explosion and the Lighthouse disappearing." As she headed towards Nantasket, she saw more than the vanishing of the lighthouse, and the British fleet getting under way. Off to the north, daring her to chase them, she observed "5 Sail of Privateers." His Excellency's armed schooners, safe from pursuit, watched the frigate and her three transports join the commodore, and the entire fleet stand northeastward. At nightfall it was off Thatcher's Island, undoubtedly bound for Halifax. Unbelievable as it seemed, Banks was taking himself, the *Milford* and the *Hope* away from further blockading duty off Boston.[8]

Twenty-four hours later, two more transports of the scattered Scotch fleet made the land off Cape Ann: the ship *George*, Archibald Bog, master, of 220 tons burden, and the brigantine *Annabella*, Hugh Walter, master, of 180 tons. In the ship were Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell with the staff of the second battalion of the Seventy-first Highlanders, and Major Menzies' company of the same battalion. The brigantine carried Captain George M'Kenzie's company of the first battalion—a total military personnel in both vessels of 206 rank and file. Having no intimation of the British evacuation, the appearance of four schooners bearing

down upon them before dawn of Sunday, June 16, was not alarming. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell took them "to be pilots, or armed vessels in the service of his Majesty."

Disillusionment came when the two nearest, without preliminary parley, opened fire. They were four of Washington's fleet, the fifth, the *Hancock*, having gone into Beverly for repairs. As the *Annabella*'s armament consisted only of two swivels, while the *George* had six 6-pounder carriage guns, Campbell ordered her to keep ahead, so the *George*'s guns could be used to better advantage. Then the other two schooners came up, and the four stationed themselves, two on the *George*'s larboard and two on her starboard quarter, rather close alongside, but beyond musket range. A "tolerable cannonade" ensued, which, "with very few intermissions," lasted until four o'clock in the afternoon, when the schooners broke off the engagement and bore away. Behind them they left three men (two soldiers and a sailor) mortally wounded in the ship, and one killed and one slightly wounded in the brigantine. Said Campbell: "I thought it my duty, at this happy crisis to push forward into the harbour, not doubting I should receive protection either from a fort or some ship of force stationed there for the security of our fleet."

Instead of a British garrison the colony artillery train occupied Nantasket Head, and had been interested spectators of the engagement in the bay. When the transports, the ship now leading, stood for the harbor entrance, the artillerymen were ready. An 18-pounder had been mounted on Point Alderton, the gun crew being instructed not to fire until the rearmost vessel came abreast. At twilight the *George* entered the channel and silent gunners watched her slip past. The *Annabella* tacked as she passed the battery and went aground on Alderton shoal in direct line of fire. They hailed her, demanding that she strike. When she refused, the 18-pounder poured a load of mixed round and cannister shot into her. Amid loud cries for quarter, and as night closed in, the brigantine's flag could be seen tumbling down. A boat landed Captain M'Kenzie on Point Alderton, where he and all occupants were made prisoners. Then the 18-pounder opened upon the *George* with three shots which did no damage. There was no return fire, so in the darkness it was assumed she too had struck.

Such an idea never entered the head of the doughty Scotch lieutenant colonel. Gunfire from Point Alderton was his "first serious proof . . . that there could scarcely be many of our friends at Boston." Being too far into the harbor to retreat, especially as the wind had died away, and the tide nearing flood, he ordered the ship anchored off George's Island, and prepared for action. He was aware that the *Annabella* had gone aground astern and could afford no assistance.

The four schooners, after abandoning their attack, met the Connecticut colony brig *Defence*, Captain Seth Harding, of sixteen 6-pounders, twenty swivels and 117 men. She had sailed that day from Plymouth and, seeing the tailend of the engagement, was making her way towards Boston. One of the schooner captains hailed and boarded her. He explained that the vessels were Scotch troopships, and that he and his consorts had been trying to take them since early morning.

"How many men have you lost?" Harding asked.

"Not a one," was the self-satisfied reply.

"Then you haven't been near enough," the Connecticut captain said.

"Well, then, you try," the other snapped, considerably nettled.

"That I have already determined to do," Harding answered.

The *Defence* and the four schooners reached the harbor mouth around ten o'clock. There they were joined by the *Hancock*. They passed the stranded *Annabella* on the flood tide, and eased slowly along in the night until the hull of the *George* loomed ahead. According to Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, "four of the schooners anchored right under our bow, and one right astern of us; the Armed brig took her station on our starboard side, at the distance of 200 yards." This is corroborated by Tucker, who had placed the *Hancock* astern of the *George*. Samuel Smedley, first lieutenant of the *Defence*, insisted, however, "The Scooners all the while was at anchor some one mile off & some half mile." Trying to reconcile such conflicting statements is impossible, but the brunt of the action must have been borne by the Connecticut brig. As the opponents faced each other almost unseen in the night, Harding began the colloquy, demanding whence they came. The reply was, "From Great Britain."

"Then strike your colors to America," he called.

The transport sparred for time with a question. "What brig is that?"

"The Connecticut brig *Defence*," Harding answered. "I do not want to kill your men, but have your ship I will, so strike your flag, or I'll open fire."

Major Menzies, who was carrying on the exchange, replied on a note of derision, "Aye, I'll strike."

Simultaneously, the British 6-pounders fired a broadside into the *Defence*. It was returned and the schooners joined in with their 4- and 2-pounders. The British concentrated their guns on the *Defence*. Nearness of the brig to the *George* proved an advantage from the start, Smedley reporting that "they being very High that allmost all their shot went over us." Enemy fire damaged the brig's sails and rigging. Nor could all firing have been through her tops, as nine of her men were wounded. Tucker, astern, reported, "I received no damage in loss of men, but lost a complete set of new sails by the passing of their balls; then the white field and pine tree union were riddled to atoms." Lack of casualties he explained by "my little barque . . . being very low in the water." The other schooners must have been a lot closer than Smedley admitted, as four of their men were wounded.

Fatalities on board the *George* were heavy, but Campbell reported proudly that, while the mate and every seaman had refused to fight, "not an officer, non-commissioned officer, or private of the Seventy-first, but who stood to their quarters with a ready and cheerful obedience." Major Menzies died at his post on the quarterdeck early in the action, and seven Highlanders were killed. The quartermaster and twelve soldiers were wounded, and the ship's deck was a shambles.

For an hour and a half the battle raged. When it ended, it was not because the plucky Scotchmen had lost the will to fight. They had run out of ammunition! The Lieutenant Colonel ran to his cabin, pulled the cherished battalion banner from a chest, tore it or cut it to shreds, and tossed the remnants overboard. Then he surrendered, explaining: "Under the circumstances, hemmed in as we were with six privateers, in the middle of an enemy's harbour, beset with a dead calm, without the power of escaping, or even

the most distant hope of relief, I thought it became my duty not to sacrifice the lives of our gallant men wantonly in the arduous attempt of an evident impossibility."

At high tide—about midnight—the *Annabella* floated free of Alderton Shoal. In the darkness her crew and the remaining Highlanders sought to escape northward into Broad Sound. She ran hard on Black Rock, a jagged ledge lying off Lovell's Island, where she bilged. At dawn, the Highland dead were buried on one of the islands in the harbor to the funeral dirge of their bagpipes. They played an ancient Scotch air, and the haunting notes were remembered and long whistled by the lyrical Tucker. Major Menzie's body was carried to Boston. Officers of the Seventy-first were transferred to long boats, landed on the Long Wharf that same day, and marched up streets lined with curious spectators to General Ward's headquarters. They wore their side arms, which had been restored to them by their captors. Ward greeted them graciously and acquiesced in their request that Major Menzies be interred with the honors of war. General Orders on June 18 provided that "the Highland major, who was slain in the late engagement on board the ship, is to be buried this afternoon from the State House. The Scotch officers will walk as mourners, and all the officers in town off duty are desired to walk in the procession." So they buried Menzies "with military honors," and the Continental and colonial officers marched behind the caisson along with his former comrades in arms of the Seventy-first.

On the day the Major was laid at rest, the armed schooners and the *Defence* sailed out of Nantasket road to intercept a ship "which came toward the entrance of the harbour." She was another transport, the *Lord Howe,* Robert Park, master, of two hundred tons burden. On board was the grenadier company of the second battalion of the Seventy-first, Captain Lawrence Campbell commanding. As the ship carried no other weapons than the muskets of the grenadiers, she offered no resistance. They brought her up to Boston in triumph. The actual return of all the "Scotch hiland prisoners" was 437, comprising 354 men, 55 women and 28 children —the latter comprising the families of officers and their servants. Temporarily they were confined in the workhouse and almshouse,

but Ward notified Washington that "the prisoners are going into the country towns agreeable to the order of Congress." [7]

Jonathan Glover and William Bartlett had decided that "to avoid any Colour of dispute," they would not meddle with any prizes brought in after the *Anne*, even though "Mr Bradfords Commission has Not Arrived, and perhaps Never May." With none to question his authority, John Bradford took charge of the *George*, the *Lord Howe*, and the *Annabella*, although the latter, on the rocks, was difficult to unload. He hoped to get her off in the spring tides.

Ten or eleven sail of transports, convoyed by two men-of-war, had been seen in the bay on June 22. Ward ordered the armed schooners out. The *Defence* sailed in company. Bradford wanted to get "the brig among them to share in the emoluments." The British frigates guarded their convoy so well that schooners and *Defence* gave up thoughts of prize-taking and returned to Boston on June 27. Their haste in returning was caused by a dispute over the *George* and the *Annabella*. Harding had libeled for three-fourths of each, and his proportionate share of the *Lord Howe*. His Excellency's captains stormily protested. Lieutenant Smedley sneered at their pretensions; they "want to share equal with us in the Prizes." And Harding noted, "The Captains of the four Schooners dispute with each other, one says, You did not fight, and You did not fight; and so they go on." A date of July 23 had been set for trial and, "what I shall recover," Harding concluded, "I cannot tell until after the trial." Even by July 1 only partial inventories had been secured of the Scotch prizes. There was still coal and a few other articles in the holds of the *George* and the *Lord Howe*, and "the brig *Annabella* remains on the rocks."

John Bradford was learning that more than a fat commission was involved in the job of Continental agent.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

Washington Demands Arms and Receives Excuses

NEWS OF CAPTURE of the transport *Anne* with her company of Highlanders reached New York on June 16. Washington, congratulating General Ward, predicted that "if our vessels keep a good lookout, as the whole fleet are bound for Boston, which sailed with her, more of them will fall into our hands." He was sorry Ward's health was "more and more impaired," but he had heard that Congress had appointed a successor.

Vexatious problems from his agents kept arriving, propounding unexpected questions to a mind trying to concentrate on a proper reception for General Howe's anticipated appearance off New York. Joshua Wentworth, from Portsmouth, reminded him that two previous letters respecting the brig *Elizabeth* had gone unanswered. Endeavoring to explain his dilemma of how to determine the value of each claim, Wentworth became most involved. The subject was perplexing to Washington. Previous letters, referred to Stephen Moylan, could not be found. "It will be, therefore, necessary to acquaint me again with the Contents," he wrote Wentworth, "if you esteem my answer to them material." Next came a letter from William Bartlett again urging valuation of ordnance stores from the *Nancy*, and of provisions taken for army use from other of Manley's prizes.

Fortunately, resolutions helpful to these queries and requests trickled into his Excellency's hands from June 20 to June 22, forwarded to him as and when they were copied by transcribing clerks. Congress at last had produced answers to many of the questions he

had been raising for months; questions pondered over in special committees, a committee of conference, the committee of the whole, and, finally, a committee of three "to digest and arrange the several resolutions." Those relating to his navy were almost verbatim as originally reported on May 10, but it had taken until June 17 to have them enacted.

Two resolutions pertained to Wentworth and the *Elizabeth*. One established that vessels sailing from Boston while the enemy had control and with enemy goods on board were, with the goods, subject to confiscation. The other authorized sale of perishable goods in a colony where no admiralty court had been established, proceeds to be held for subsequent action.

A third resolve threw valuation of ordnance stores taken in the *Nancy* right back into Washington's hands. It directed him to appoint a person to be joined by someone representing Manley and his crew, to agree in an appraisal and return it to Congress.[1] He appointed Henry Bromfield, a reputable Boston merchant, and notified Manley to name his man. He also advised William Bartlett he would have a valuation made upon goods taken from the other prizes for the use of the army.

The Eastern post, arriving June 22, brought Artemus Ward's letter telling how the British had been driven from the lower harbor, and how more Scotch transports had been captured. "I herewith transmit you an extract of a letter from General Ward," Washington advised Congress. "I sincerely wish the like success had attended our armies in another quarter, but it has not. In Canada the situation of our affairs is truly alarming." He had just heard of the defeat sustained at Three Rivers, and that General Burgoyne was advancing up the St. Lawrence River with ten thousand British troops.

No trace of dismay at northern disaster found its way into his letter to Ward hailing the achievements around Boston. "These events are extremely pleasing," he said. He flattered himself that the expulsion of the British from Nantasket road "will be attended with Salutary consequences." It would "give our little squadron a better opportunity of safely bringing in such Prizes as they may have the fortune to take and be the means of more Transports & other of their Vessels falling into our hands . . . . if we get a few

more of the Thirty Two Transports in addition to those we have already the Highland Corps will be pretty well broken & disconcerted." He enclosed the naval resolves just received, requesting that the one "about Vessels taken which sailed from Boston with effects which the King's Troops possessed" be sent "to the different Agents for the Continl. Vessels."

Momentarily expecting the British, Washington, "being in the greatest distress here for arms," wrote to Ward three days later to forward an exact account of arms and stores found in the Scotch transports, as well as a correct number of prisoners. Presence of the British ceased as a threat and became an actuality as June ended and 110 sail came in and anchored off Sandy Hook. His Excellency could not have been expected to pay much attention then to Boston. But he did! Another letter from Ward, telling of more troopships in Massachusetts Bay, and how he had ordered out the Continental schooners, reached headquarters at the time the whole might of Britain was reported below New York City. The ailing general also wailed that he was "so ill that I can attend very little to business."

There was no one to relieve him, and Washington, expressing sorrow for Ward's indisposition, tried to shame him into continuing at his post. His Excellency was most happy to hear of further successes by his armed vessels, and "if they have been fortunate enough to take the eleven ships mentioned in your last, I suppose you are in possession of a large share of the Highlanders ordered against us." He asked Ward to send all arms taken from the Scotch troops, because of deficiency in weapons at New York. Fearing the Boston commander might wish to hold out muskets for colony troops raising in Massachusetts, he emphasized that such regiments "are to furnish their own before they are received or can be taken into pay."

A week later, on July 7, he again pressed Ward "for the Highlander Musquets." Absence of "this essential Article is greatly alarming," he pointed out, and "I pray your Attention to my Request." Two days later, in another effort to speed up the slow-moving commander at Boston, he referred to a Congressional resolve ordering specifically that the arms taken in the Scotch transports be sent to him. "The President [of Congress] informs me, he

has wrote to the Agents respecting them," he said, "but as I presume they are in your Possession, or in some of the Stores by your Order, you will have the whole of them forwarded with all possible Dispatch." That letter carried momentous news, word that, as Washington expressed it, "Congress at Length, impelled by Necessity, have dissolved the Connection between the American Colonies and Great Britain, and declared them free and independent states."

A shipment of seventy-three muskets arrived from Boston on July 17, with a letter from Ward and inventories of the transports' cargoes. "I have forwarded all the Arms and Accoutrements fit for use that were in the Hands of the Agents, lately taken from the Scotch prisoners," the General wrote. "The Agents, without my knowledge, parted with part of the Arms; part of them were taken by the Commander of a Connecticut Privateer who assisted in taking the Transports; and some I am told were thrown overboard by the Prisoners, and others were broken, but I have not been able to obtain an exact Return of the Arms taken."

Inventories showed a total of eighty-nine muskets for the *Lord Howe*, twenty for the *George*, and none for either the *Anne* or *Annabella*. When it came to small arms, bayonets, gunstraps, knapsacks and belts, numbers were so few that it appeared as if his Majesty's Highlanders had been shipped out of the Clyde only partly armed. Much disgusted, Washington studied the inventories, noted the articles he wanted, and ordered a list sent to Ward. It embraced all remaining muskets, small arms and accoutrements. His Excellency even cast his eye over the mercantile inventory of the *Anne* and selected the unbleached linens, shirts, stockings, writing paper, men's shoes, "Tuck in Trowsers," and "Mens Hatts." An aide wrote, by direction: "He [Washington] is surprized that out of upwards of 400 Prisoners only 73 Arms have been sent on, and supposed every Man must have had his Arms with him. He begs your attention in collecting from the Agents & others all the Arms that have been taken, and forward them immediately to this place, where they are much wanted."

Letter and list went off by express, and on July 19 Washington further instructed Ward that "the several Articles wrote for in my Letter of Yesterday, you will please to forward to Norwich, with Orders for them to be sent by Water, provided the Enemy's Ships

should not stop the Communication, in which Case land Carriages must be procured." How pressing would be the need, Washington could only surmise by events unfolding before his eyes. Admiral Richard Howe had arrived at the Hook, the British army was ensconced on Staten Island, and two of his Majesty's war vessels had passed successfully the "rebel" batteries, and had anchored in the Hudson some six or seven miles above the city.

From the time he learned of his appointment as Continental agent, John Bradford had ignored Artemus Ward. Had he consulted that ailing gentleman he might have been told of the resolve of May 25, placing at Washington's disposal arms, ammunition and military stores from all transports taken by his Excellency's cruisers. Lacking instructions as well as a commission, he had proceeded on an assumption of responsibility to Congress only. He had provided Ward with inventories of stores received by him from the *George*, the *Annabella* and the *Lord Howe*, but only after deducting those he had dispensed.

Captain Harding of the Connecticut brig *Defence* had been permitted to help himself to such arms as he needed. Eighty-five muskets had been supplied to an independent company raising in Boston, upon the importunities of its officers backed by Harding's endorsement. The side arms of the Highland officers, which they had deposited with the quartermaster general of Massachusetts troops following Major Menzies' burial, had been seized and disposed of, "for the dirty Consideration of gain," to a ubiquitous Virginia major, John Gizzard Frazer, and others. Even personal possessions of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, which by custom that officer should have been allowed to retain, were appropriated—an action which drew an indignant blast from the Highlanders' commander that "he was plundered of half his private property the very necessary Articles of living," by the Continental agent.

Trial of the four Scotch transports was held at Boston on July 23, and all were condemned. Harding's claim for three-quarters' share of the *George* and the *Annabella* was allowed. Bradford took over the handling of these two and the *Lord Howe*, but Jonathan Glover held tight to the *Anne*, which, unlike the other three, lay at Marblehead. Trouble developed with Samuel Elliot, Connecti-

cut agent in Boston, who, to protect Harding's large interest in two of the prizes, protested the release of the remaining arms and stores by the Continental agent.

In the midst of this dispute, General Ward sent Bradford Washington's list of supplies wanted, and a terse order: "Pursuant to Directions from the Continental Congress and from his Excellency General Washington, General Ward requests and directs John Bradford, Esq^{r}. Agent for the Continental navy to forward to his excellency General Washington all the within mentioned articles with the utmost expedition and dispatch, as they are greatly wanted for the Continental Army at New York."

Further, Ward took Bradford to task for disposing of the muskets so freely without consulting him, and in direct violation of resolves of Congress. The General then "washed his hands" of the matter and advised Washington, "All the Articles your Excellency wrote for which I could procure of the Agents I have forwarded to Norwich."

That left some explaining to be done by Bradford, who attempted it in a letter combining apologies with attempts to lay blame elsewhere. He had delivered the military stores to General Ward, he wrote, "tho forbid doing so by the Agent for Connecticut." It gave him great pain that he could not comply fully with his Excellency's requisition. He had passed out the muskets to the independent company before he had heard of any Congressional order to turn all arms and ammunition over to the military. Harding's large interest in the prizes had induced him to permit this captain to persuade him. All of the 205 muskets that came into his possession, he could account for. The rest he believed were embezzled by the crews of his Excellency's armed schooners, "for the Captains as well as the men are too little impressd with the hon^{ble}, Service they are employ'd in, and Act the Part of Privateer Men."

Not without a struggle had Bradford given over efforts to secure all prizes brought in since the date of his appointment in April. He had gone to Marblehead around July 18 to stop the sale of the *Hope* and her cargo. The urbane Glover had repeated what he had told him before: until he produced a commission his demands would be ignored. Bradford recognized the weakness of his position without credentials, so, "tho I forbid the sale personally I was

unwilling to carry matters to the Extremity lest it might injure the public service."

Such persistancy had disturbed Glover, who appealed to Washington. He had endeavored to discharge the office his Excellency had appointed him to, "with dignity and Fidelity." He described the steps he had taken with the *Hope*. Nothing remained to be done but making sale of the ship and a few nonmilitary stores, representing about another day's work.

"In this Stage of the Business [Glover underlined the phrase] Mr. John Bradford of Boston Steps in and desires to Sell the Ship Hope and her Cargo and Claims a Commission on Some others against which I have either finished or Commenced Prosecution." Having had no advice that he had been superseded, "I thought it my duty not only to My Self but to your Excellency and the Continent, to continue acting in that Capacity as far as Respected those Vessels that comes in my hands." He concluded with a request that the matter be settled "as in Justice it ought to be."

Bradford, too, was writing a letter, this to Robert Morris, member of both Secret and Marine committees. He had great occasion for money, but there was no prospect of getting any from Washington's agents "for want of my Commission." "They pay no regard to any thing till that appears," he continued. "If you could spare a moment from the important concerns you are now Engag'd in to forward my Commission you wou'd render me an essential service."

Morris obliged, and the commission arrived early in August. Bradford rushed copies to the newspapers so the public might read and believe. Then he set off for Marblehead and Beverly to wave it, figuratively, in the faces of Washington's deposed agents. Money to carry out the various assignments the Secret Committee had given him, with a commission on all sums expended, should now be forthcoming from proceeds of sales these gentlemen would be compelled to turn over to him.

Next day he returned, no richer, but a much wiser man. "I saw Capt. Bartlett and Glover," he wrote sadly to Morris. "They tell me that they shall on the Settlement of their Accounts, have a Balance to Receive, General Washington having taken so great a part of the Cargoes out of their hands." There was satisfaction, at least, in picking up a newspaper and reading; "THE DELEGATES

of the Thirteen United Colonies. To JOHN BRADFORD, Esquire, Greeting." To temper any feeling of content, however, was the fact that the date of the commission, April 23, 1776, was so long past that "Thirteen United Colonies" had been succeeded by "Thirteen United States," and its belated arrival had deprived him of commissions on four of his Excellency's prizes.[2]

Along with annoyance at Artemus Ward's slowness in forwarding military stores and at John Bradford's negligence, Washington, as July ended, had thrust upon him the dispute between agents over Continental prizes. Jonathan Glover's vigorous defense of his position in refusing to submit to a commissionless Bradford lay before him. Joshua Wentworth, from Portsmouth, wrote that he had heard "The Agents of your Excellencys appointment to the Wester'd of this Port" had been confirmed by Congress. No information could have been more erroneous. "I presume to Solicit your Excellency's recommendation, for my confirmation If you still think me worthy of that trust," he continued.

Why Washington had not notified his agents that they had been superseded, he never explained. Perhaps he was loathe to admit that he had not been consulted. Perhaps he had hoped injustice eventually might be righted without his interposition. Or perhaps, being far removed from the scene, he decided Congress could wrestle with an embarrassment of its own creation. Whatever his reasons, he did not acknowledge Wentworth's letter. Jonathan Glover could not so easily be dismissed. Washington, perforce, submitted the problem to Congress:

I have transmitted a Copy of a Letter from Mr. Jona. Glover, setting forth the nature and Grounds of a dispute between him and a Mr. Bradford respecting their Agency. Not conceiving myself Authorized, nor having the smallest inclination to interfere in any degree in the matter; It is referred to Congress who will determine and give direction upon it in such a manner as they shall Judge best. I will only observe that Mr. Glover was recommended to me as a proper person for an Agent, when we first fitted out armed Vessels and was accordingly appointed one, and so far as I know, discharged his Office with fidelity and Industry.

Reference to "a Mr. Bradford" gives a hint of Washington's resentment over the appointment. It was no doubt heightened by

the letter wherein Bradford had blamed captains and crews for embezzling the Highlanders' arms. Nobody knew better the failings of "his rascally privateersmen" than did Washington, but he reserved right to pass judgment upon them, and disliked the wholesale charge of embezzlement from a man who himself had violated Congressional resolves. Thus, in acknowledging Bradford's letter on August 5, he was curtly official: "For the future I must desire all Warlike Stores & necessaries for an Army taken by the Armed Vessels in public service may be safely Stored under care of the Different Agents until they receive Orders from proper Authority. You will please to enjoin it upon the different Commanders of the Continental Cruisers, to be particularly carefull no Embezelment is made by their Crew or others." [3]

Although Washington had given no indication of willingness to abandon direction of his little navy, the Continental Congress inadvertently took a step in that direction on August 5, with a resolve "that the Marine Committee be directed to order the ships and armed vessels belonging to the Continent, out on such cruizes as they shall think proper." In no sense was this a slap at Washington. Congress was aiming its resolve at Commodore Esek Hopkins for the disappointing operations of the Continental fleet. Marine Committee members were fully informed about Hopkins' vessels—names, sizes, rigs, armament and officers. Of Washington's navy they had little or no knowledge. Whether the resolution was ever forwarded to his Excellency is doubtful. Because it was conceived and executed to curtail Hopkins' authority, it is unlikely that Hancock considered it as affecting Washington's fleet. Hence, Marine Committee jurisdiction over the armed schooners came about gradually. It developed more because of Washington's preoccupation with other and more serious problems than through an aggressive policy on the part of the committee.

The immediate problems facing Washington resolved around the enemy off New York. For several weeks the British army had paraded its power on Staten Island, but the Howes had not yet indicated the point of attack. While awaiting disclosure of these plans, Washington received from General Ward the appraisement of the ordnance stores from the *Nancy*. Henry Bromfield, Continental appraiser, reported that he and William Davis, a Boston

merchant selected by John Manley, had "spared no Pains to Ascertain the Value." The appraisal was £20,530.18.1. His Excellency did himself "the honor of transmitting" it to Congress on August 23. How to pay the share due Manley and his crew he left for the Continental Fathers to determine.[4]

CHAPTER NINETEEN

The Cruising Area Broadened and the "Warren" Taken

AFTER DEPARTURE of transports and convoying frigates in late June, Massachusetts Bay remained free of British cruisers. Merchant vessels sailed into and out of port unmolested. No more ships appeared under misapprehension that Howe still occupied Boston. If prizes were to be taken, cruising grounds had to be extended into shipping lanes between Halifax and New York, or even further eastward where Britain's West India trade plied the Great Circle route. Likewise, Congress had removed restrictions on prize-taking with a resolution providing that " all ships or vessels with their tackle, apparel and furniture, good wares, and merchandizes, belonging to an inhabitant or inhabitants of Great Britain " should be forfeited. Objectives for Washington's armed schooner no longer were limited. Anything flying the British flag was their quarry.

No one directed the five captains. Artemus Ward was too sick to bother, other than to advise Washington of their movements. Colonel John Glover, whose interest in the little navy had been great, was off for New York with his regiment. William Bartlett and Jonathan Glover, winding up their affairs as his Excellency's agents, considered their authority ended. John Bradford, to whom the captains might look, seemed more interested in seeking commissions than in fleet operations. Nonetheless, the schooners cruised, and Samuel Tucker, as senior officer, issued orders as needed.[1]

He, in the *Hancock*, and John Skimmer, in the *Franklin*, well east of Cape Ann on July 27, took a large ship, the *Peggy*, James

Kennedy, master, of 240 tons burden. She mounted six 3-pounders and two 2-pounders, but offered no resistance. Presence on board of three women among a number of Tory passengers deterred her master from attempting a defense. The *Peggy* had sailed from Halifax to join the Howes off New York. Her cargo, intended for the British army, included liquid refreshments of red and white port wine, sherry, claret, strong beer, porter and rum. Provisions embraced many tierces and barrels of Irish and Scotch salted beef, mutton hams, herring, flour and barley. Cloth and clothing consisted of oznabrigs (plain gray cloth), Irish sheeting and men's hose. Her invoice totalled better than £ 1,500 sterling.

Also, the *Peggy* carried household goods of two Tory passengers —John Semple and "the pious Benjamin Davis." Evidently this pair had anticipated a quick conquest of New York and had intended moving in behind the army. Davis complained bitterly that the schooners' crews had raided his cabin, broken open his trunk and stolen £ 500 in gold. Vigilance of Tucker and Skimmer had prevented a total loss, as they had recovered about half of it, "part in the same bag & part loose in the hold of the ship." Davis, Semple and the other Tories (the women excepted), when the prize was ushered into Marblehead, were sent around in a schooner to Boston jail. Jonathan Glover passed all inventories along to General Ward, but would have nothing to do with the prize or cargo. That was now Bradford's job.[2]

Meanwhile, William Burke, cruising in the *Warren* south of the Isle of Sable, ran into trouble in the shape of his Majesty's transport *Unity*, carrying Hessian troops to Halifax. Showing no colors, Burke fired a shot to bring her to, ran up under her stern and demanded she strike to the American Congress. The British master, who suspected the schooner was a rebel cruiser, was ready. He had sent Hessians into concealment under the quarter-deck and had four small carriage guns abaft. These surprised the *Warren* with a sharp salute. Burke dropped away from the stern, and sought to board toward the bow. Said Morgan, the *Unity*'s master: "Our soldiers immediately went forward, and gave them such a discharge of small arms, that she found she had caught a Tartar. I believe we killed five Men at this Fire. She then shot ahead of us, in order,

I believe, to consider what to do; the Determination was to leave us, which they did by steering away South."

A quantity of powder which by accident exploded on the *Warren*'s quarter-deck, and not the Hessian gunfire, caused Burke to give over the attempt. Three of his men were killed and seven wounded by the blast. He was near taking the transport, he announced when he limped into Marblehead a few days later, which, in the light of the British account, does not sound likely. By the time Burke's story reached Ward for retelling to Washington, it had some embellishments. The *Warren* had encountered two vessels, not one, and was about to force them to strike when part of the quarterdeck blew up. Regardless of which story was true, the result was the same—the *Warren* was back in port in need of a refit.[8]

Rebuff or rebuke had no effect on John Bradford. He had shown the persistance of a moneylender in pursuing Washington's agents. Now, upon receipt of his Excellency's curt order, he exhibited the guile of a sea lawyer in interpreting any criticism as intended only for the captains and crews. He shrugged off his own derelictions with, "Your Excellency may rely on the Strictest punctuality in Complying with any future Orders I may Receive." He had complaints from prisoners taken in the *Peggy* that the schooners' crews "Acted more like pirates than men who are so honorable employ'd I am taking every measure to Efface that notion of their being privateers, for while they continue in it they will Act like such. Great need there is of a reform in our little Navy which I hope in time may be effected." Let his Excellency read between the lines; the new Continental agent would now take over direction of the armed schooners.

The crews of the *Hancock* and the *Franklin*, even if behaving like privateersmen, were successful in so doing. Still acting in concert, Tucker and Skimmer sailed from Marblehead within twenty-four hours after bringing in the *Peggy*, and, rounding Cape Cod, headed southward. Some six hundred miles due east of the Virginia capes, the *Franklin* on August 4 intercepted the brigantine *Perkins*, William Jenkins, master, of 140 tons burden. She had a cargo of three thousand deerskins and two tons of indigo, and was bound from St. Augustine for Bristol, England. On board was a lieutenant, a sergeant and a drummer of his Majesty's Fourteenth

regiment, bound home on a recruiting mission, and a "Mr. Lesley & Family." Skimmer manned the prize, sent her for Marblehead, and made repairs to his mainmast, which had been carried away in the pursuit.

Several days later, in relatively the same position, the two schooners took a large ship, the *Nelly Frigate*, Lyonel Bradstreet, master, of 305 tons burden. She showed eighteen guns but offered no resistance. Once they boarded the quick surrender was easy to comprehend. Twelve of the eighteen guns were wooden ones! She was from the Bay of Honduras bound for London with a cargo of mahogany and a number of fine turtles. The ship was ordered for Boston, and Tucker and Skimmer continued cruising.[4]

The *Perkins* arrived at Marblehead. Members of the British recruiting party and the Lesley family were marched to Boston, where they "all pledged their honor . . . that they would not leave the Town without liberty for so doing, and that . . . they would behave as Prisoners on Parole ought to do." Bradford ordered the brigantine around to Boston, where she was libeled against with trial set for mid-September.

When the *Nelly Frigate*, driven by adverse winds, put into Portsmouth harbor for a night's anchorage before proceeding to Boston, Joshua Wentworth ordered her up to town and blithely wrote Washington that he had "Libeled her & shall pursue to Trial &c." Bradford was terribly upset by Wentworth's action, which would cost him a pretty commission. He exaggerated the matter, charging that it was a practice employed frequently. "The Agent for New hampshire Stops all Continental prizes that occasionally goes into their harbour mouth for a nights Anchorage, and Order them up to town there to be sold," he wailed to Robert Morris. "Their harbour is so situatd that as the Autumn Approaches, its not probable we may have another prize here the whole season." As the last Continental prize sent into Portsmouth had been the brig *Elizabeth*, arriving early in April, the charge certainly was unfounded.

Wentworth's letter, however, primarily was to divulge the astounding result of the trial of this same *Elizabeth* in New Hampshire's newly established admiralty court. The jury had acquitted vessel and entire cargo! The verdict appeared to Wentworth "so directly

Contrary to the Resolves of Congress & the Law of this Colony, That I conceiv'd it my Duty to appeal." Continuing:

> Part of the Claimants (notwithstanding the verdict is in their favor) are desireous of compromising with the Captors, and offer them their full Quota of Salvage Which is the one third of half the Value of Vessel & Cargo we have. established that the Enemy were in Possession more than ninety six hours, but the flagrant error in the Jury, forbid my conceeds to any compromise for the Capture, as in that Case I must have surrender'd the Just Claim of the Continent.

Wentworth wanted to know whether Washington would recommend a compromise with the claimants who were esteemed friendly. If so, he would "Comport with it," but as "your last favor desired my pursuing the line of Duty pointed out by the Laws of the Continent, I shall steedly attend to them, until otherways directed."

Massachusetts Bay was no longer free from enemy frigates. The *Milford* and the *Liverpool*, each of twenty-eight guns, had sailed from Halifax to protect the trade and harry the rebel coast. The *Milford* came in on August 24, and chased a ship so close to Marblehead that the forts fired upon her. Two days later, she took a brig bound for Salem, and a schooner and sloop from the eastward, laden with lumber for Boston. The crew of the latter two escaped to shore in their boats. The *Milford* burned the brig and schooner, but sent the sloop, the *Betsey*, for Halifax. The *Liverpool*, Captain Henry Bellew, cruised off Cape Ann.

The *Warren*, her quarter-deck repaired, in company with the *Lynch* put to sea in late August for a cruise in the lanes used by British provision vessels between Nova Scotia and Howe's fleet. It was their misfortune to encounter the *Liverpool* around daybreak on Monday, August 26, about six leagues without the bay. She was between them and the land, and stood toward them with a stiff breeze at E. S.E. They separated and fled. The *Liverpool* followed the *Warren*. A squall sprang up, and the frigate split her jib, but bent another, set her studding sails, and closed in rapidly. The *Liverpool*'s log tells the finale: "fired several shot to bring too the chace, which proovd to be a Continental Congress Privateer, belonging to the Rebels of 8 Guns and 42 men." Before noon, William Burke and his crew were shifted to the *Liverpool*.

Bellew kept the *Warren* as a tender until September 4. Then, meeting the *Milford* off Cape Ann, he took out the schooner's guns, and sent her for Halifax.

John Ayres had seen the *Warren* captured, but was beyond pursuit by the time the *Liverpool* had taken possession. He could only identify the captor as a British frigate. He cruised cautiously for a few more days, then headed for Boston. Oddly enough, he reported to Ward, but not to Bradford, who learned of the loss only through rumor in the street. Perhaps the agent's later stigmatization of John Ayres as "a rotten limb," stemmed from pique at the captain's failure to display proper respect for his authority.[5]

The fifth of his Excellency's cruisers, the *Lee*, Daniel Waters, cruised fruitlessly off Nova Scotia for several weeks. She was homeward bound at the end of August when, south of Cape Sable, she recaptured the sloop *Betsey*, which the *Milford* had taken in Massachusetts Bay. She was of sixty tons burden and laden with cord wood. Waters took out the British prize crew, put in his own men, and convoyed her into Boston. Bradford filed a libel, and October 15 was set for trial.

Prize matters had been going none too well for the Continental agent. Public auction of the ships *George* and *Lord Howe* and the brig *Annabella* had proved disappointing. Only the brig and fifty chaldrons of Scotch coal taken from the three transports had been disposed of. Buyers had been apathetic, even though he advertised the *Lord Howe* as but three years old and built in Boston, and the *George* as "a fine burthensome Ship, Falmouth built, about 2 Years old." It had not made him feel better to learn that Jonathan Glover had sold the ship *Anne* for a satisfactory price at Marblehead.

Then, although he secured a verdict against the ship *Peggy*, an appeal was entered by her former owners in Philadelphia. They claimed she had not been condemned as a prize at Halifax, so that the captors were not entitled to full participation. No sale could be made until the appeal was decided on in Congress. On top of that the agent for Connecticut sued Bradford for Captain Harding's share of the arms taken from the Scotch transports. Producing the order from Congress, backed by Washington's letter, had not deterred the "untoward Agent" from prosecuting the claim, "and the matter was left to a rule of Court."

Despite his tribulations, Bradford in September dispatched John Ayres and Daniel Waters to cruise singly. Ayres ventured the *Lynch* easterly into transatlantic ship channels, but Waters elected to return in the *Lee* to Nova Scotian waters. Samuel Tucker and John Skimmer came into port, with no additional prizes, and were dispatched promptly to cruise the Great Circle route. Bradford congratulated himself that his Excellency's entire navy was at sea.

Daniel Waters, according to the Continental agent, was quite "Indolent in the Service." He had headed the *Lee*, not for Nova Scotia, but for the eastern seaports which dot the Maine coast from Machias to York Village, Bradford reported, and had spent several weeks lingering in them on various pretexts. In early October, homeward bound, he happened upon the schooner *Sally*, Jesse Noble, master, of ninety tons burden. She was from Halifax for the British army with a cargo of fish, board, shingles, and a number of iron-bound water casks. Waters escorted her into Boston.

There was nothing unusual about schooner or cargo. But the editor of the *Independent Chronicle* in Boston worked himself into a frenzy of invectives when the *Sally* arrived: "She was from the Eastward and bound to New York to supply those very Blood-Hounds of Britain there, whose hellish Cry continually is, Havoc, Blood, Murder and Plunder, from the cowardly Yankee American Rebels. 'Tis really a Pity some method could not be taken to banish these Sons of Tyranny, Oppression and Slavery, out of this (*determined* to be) free Western American Empire."

Scarcely had Bradford taken possession of the *Sally* when John Ayres brought the *Lynch* up to Boston minus her armament. He had levered guns and carriages over the bulwarks and into the sea to lighten the schooner in a long flight from a British frigate. He told an interesting tale of his escape. On September 27, in 39.46 north latitude, and 49.00 east longitude, he had run across a fleet of forty-nine sail, among which he thought he saw five frigates and two three-deckers. "One of the Frigate gave him Chace," his account ran, "which continued from Noon, till half past 11 at Night; and was at one Time within 2 Miles of him, and finding he overhauled so fast, was obliged to throw over-board his Guns,

stave his Water, &c.—and by its growing dark, was the Means of his escaping being taken."

Prejudiced and unwilling to believe the story *in toto,* John Bradford could only bemoan the fact that "Capt. Ayres had hove away one Compleat Set [of cannon] & part of a second." Ayres, however, was telling the truth. He had encountered part of a fleet of 120 sail bringing to General Howe the last division of Hessian troops, around eight thousand men. One of the convoying frigates, the *Unicorn,* of twenty-eight guns, detached herself and chased him. Captain John Ford, her commander, reported that the rebel privateer got away from him "by the Shallowness of the Water & the advantage of a Gale of Wind."

John Bradford had the *Lynch* laid up, continuing captain and crew in pay until he received contrary orders, and hastened Daniel Waters out on a new cruise. There was still the question of the *Peggy* preying upon his mind. "It is sometime since the Appeal from the decree against the ship peggy was sent to Philadelphia," Bradford wrote Hancock on October 21. "When that matter is determin'd I shall be highly favour'd to know it, as I am Obliged to keep a person on board to pump her she being very leaky." He hoped, too, for instructions about the *Lynch,* but much more, as a good henchman, he wanted to report, fawningly, "Your friends are greatly disappointed in the happiness they promised themselves in Seeing you this Fall but none more than your most hble servt." [6]

CHAPTER TWENTY

His Excellency Relinquishes His Navy

ACROSS FROM the bowling green in headquarters at the foot of the Broad Way, George Washington awaited his generals for a council of war. An aide announced, not one of the division or brigade commanders, but two Rhode Islanders, Captain Sion Martindale and Lieutenant Moses Turner, late prisoners in England. Thus on September 7, a little more than a week after defeat on Long Island, and confronted with the momentous question, should New York be defended, Washington again found matters relating to his New England navy intruding upon him. But, because the late commander and first officer of the brig *Washington* had come a long, long way for an audience, he gave them the courteous consideration for which he was famed.

Martindale described their experiences. He dwelt particularly on the period after he had "received his Majesty's pardon for crimes he never committed," and, with four of his officers had been placed in the frigate *Greyhound* to be returned to America for exchange. The frigate had arrived at Halifax on May 16. For five weeks they were confined "in close prison and treated in the most rascally manner." Fourteen prisoners, including the *Washington*'s five officers, "broak goal" on June 19, but six were recaptured. Among those retaken were Consider Howland, master, and Jacob Tyler, master's mate. Martindale, Turner and Second Lieutenant James Childs won free. They made their way down through Nova Scotia, stole a fishing smack from a small port on the south coast, and reached Casco Bay. They proceeded overland to Plymouth where William Watson explained he had been super-

seded, and could only recommend them to Washington. Fearful he might lose advances he had made to the crew the previous December, Watson provided Martindale with an explanatory letter. Lieutenant Childs had stopped in Providence, but Martindale and Turner had pressed on to New York.

Washington listened, but shook his head regretfully when their concluding request was for wages since January 1. The *Washington*'s crew had been engaged only to the end of 1775, and he had no authority to pay them beyond that date. He would take care of William Watson's advances, but he could do nothing for them other than explain the circumstances to Congress, which he did thus:

> This will be delivered you by Captain Martindale and Lieutenant Turner who were taken last Fall in the armed Brig Washington, and who with Mr. Childs, the 2d. Lieutenant have lately effected their escape from Hallifax. Captain Martindale and these two officers have applied to me for pay from the 1st. of January till this time But not conceiving myself authorized to grant it, however reasonable It may be, as they were only engaged 'till the last of December; at their own Instance I have mentioned the matter to Congress and submit their Case to their consideration.[1]

Martindale and Turner left for Philadelphia. General Howe moved menacingly up the western shore of Long Island, threatening to cross the East River at several points. At daybreak of September 10 the British seized two islands at the mouth of the Harlem River, imperilling Washington's army in New York. In the midst of this critical situation New England naval affairs again called for attention. First, the estate of Colonel Lee of Marblehead requested return of ten cannon loaned when the armed vessels originally were fitted out. Second, Joshua Wentworth's letter arrived telling of the prize ship *Nelly Frigate*, of the extraordinary admiralty court decision acquitting the brig *Elizabeth*, and of his determination to appeal to Congress.

Then, at last, Washington threw up his hands. Congress and its Marine Committee could take entire direction of the armed schooners in New England. What was happening, or likely to happen, around New York engrossed his full attention and made it utterly impossible for him to exercise further control. On September 10

he gave his decision, voiced in a letter addressed to Wentworth, and dictated to an aide:

> Removed at such a distance as his Excellency is and Involved in a multiplicity of Important business It is impossible for him to give decisions about or to pay Attention to the Continental Armed Vessels at the Eastward. Therefore, at the same time that he doubts not but your conduct is right respecting the Appeal he apprehends you should correspond with the Marine Committee appointed by Congress in all matters that may occur in your department, presuming that they were appointed and intended for that purpose.
>
> His Excellency can only repeat what he has already said, that the Laws prescribed by Congress, are the only rules by which you can conduct yourself. It is not his wish nor in his power to give any orders or advise any thought of deviation or departure from them—If in any instance hardships of a peculiar nature crop up—Congress & Congress alone have it in their power to relieve on proper representation being made.

That last sentence was the nearest Washington ever came to a reflection on the action of Congress in superseding his agents. Through Wentworth, he solved the return of the late Colonel Lee's cannon. Eight guns found in prizes carried into Portsmouth he directed to be turned over to the estate.[2]

John Hancock received Washington's letter by Sion Martindale on September 13. It was read in Congress and referred to the Board of War, which reported favorably. Congress thereupon resolved that the *Washington*'s officers " be allowed their pay and rations to this time, and that they be referred to the Treasury Board for a settlement of their accounts." Martindale next presented an account of disbursements made before the brig sailed on her last cruise, and expenses incurred in escaping from Halifax. This was referred to the Marine Committee, was favorably reported and paid. The trio of officers collected about $700 from Congress before their exit from the scene.

Joshua Wentworth's appeal against acquittal of the *Elizabeth* was read, but no action was taken for better than two weeks. Then the claimants, who had been willing to pay a reasonable salvage, petitioned for a speedy hearing. That brought appointment of a committee of five to hear the case. One of the most painstaking and exhaustive reports extant was submitted to Congress on October 14.

It threw out a petition of William Burke and the crew of the *Warren*, claiming a share in the prize, "it not appearing they were present, or in sight at the time of the recapture."

The committee concluded that the *Elizabeth* was not comprehended in the description of vessels which might be forfeited, "not being an armed or a transport vessel . . . nor carrying provisions, or other necessaries to the British army or navy"; nor did it come under resolutions respecting recaptures, because it had not been condemned as a prize. The committee believed "that it was the duty of the re-captors to recover the said brigantine, and her cargo, and that the owners, who otherwise might, and probably would have lost their whole property ought to make a reasonable satisfaction." Therefore, it recommended that the sentence of the New Hampshire court be reversed, and the brigantine and such part of her cargo as was claimed in the court be restored to the respective claimants upon their paying to the United States and the recaptors one-twelfth part of the value. Congress concurred.[3]

Maybe it was this case; maybe it was consideration of Jonathan Glover's letter, which Washington had forwarded in August; maybe it was the result of a memorial just received from the same Glover; or, maybe it came about from complaints unrecorded in the official journal. Whatever the cause, Congress on October 16 suddenly took cognizance of the dispute over prize money between the agents of Washington's appointment, and the one of their own choosing in Massachusetts:

> Whereas sundry prizes have been heretofore taken by the cruisers fitted out by General Washington, at the continental expence, and on continental accounts, and no accounts thereof have yet been rendered by the agents who received and sold the said prizes, and, whereas, a just distribution of such shares of the said prizes are due to the officers and men, agreeable to the rules and regulations of Congress, ought to be made;
>
> Resolved, That the Marine Committee be empowered to order such distribution of the said prize money amongst the parties interested therein, and that they recover from the said agents the continental share of all the said prizes.

Identical letters went to William Bartlett, William Bartlett and Jonathan Glover jointly, William Watson, Joshua Wentworth,

Winthrop Sargent, and last, but not omitted, John Bradford. An immediate return of all prizes was desired, along with copies of decrees of admiralty courts, inventories of ships and cargoes, accounts of sales, account current for each prize showing distribution to officers and men and Continental share, and a general account current with every charge enumerated. A sizable order, indeed.

"We desire that you will remit to this Board whatever Moneys you have in hand arising from the Continental share of the Prizes put under your management," the letter continued. "The sooner you make these Remittance and render the Accounts the better." The Marine Committee thus upset previous orders to settle with Bradford, further confusing an already confused situation.[4]

Because it was of interest to Washington, a copy of the letter went to army headquarters, now in White Plains after rear-guard actions up the Manhattan peninsula and into Westchester County. It arrived the same day that another request from William Bartlett was received. Bartlett was still without valuation of goods taken from the ships *Concord* and *Jenny* for army use, and he wanted to know, also, if he should pay a bill of £100 rendered by the gentlemen who had appraised the *Nancy*'s ordnance stores? Whether he acknowledged this letter or not, his Excellency must have been touched, and, perhaps, embarrassed by Bartlett's conclusion: "The Reflection join'd to the Impeachment which is Generally implied or at least understood by a dismission from any Office under Government has I confess given me very Sensible pain."

Two cartels from Halifax with American prisoners "due to be exchanged for Men of equal Rank now in our Possession," arrived at Marblehead on November 1. Among them was the crew of the *Warren*, except William Burke, who had been sent to New York but who hoped, as he wrote Bradford, to be exchanged for Richard Boger, a lieutenant of the *Liverpool*, a prisoner on parole in Philadelphia. The agent seconded the captain's request in a letter to Washington extolling him as "a worthy Brave man and deserves a better fate."

John Bradford had great partialities, and his bias not infrequently led him into errors of judgment. Burke was one of his favorites; John Skimmer, another. The agent's belief in the latter

was sustained by results, but Burke had been and would continue to be a very mediocre captain. Bradford's dislike for another of the captains, Daniel Waters, was displayed when the *Lee*, on November 7, escorted in the prize brig *Elizabeth*, Thomas Edwards, master, of 130 tons burden, from Halifax for Jamaica with a cargo of fifty thousand oak staves and boards. Instead of praising the feat, the agent complained to the Marine Committee that "I fitted him for a two months Cruise, and he return'd before one month expired."

In that letter, Bradford acknowledged receipt of the Congressional resolve and the committee's order for an accounting. He was much wrought up about it, as repeated calls upon Washington's agents to exhibit their accounts to him had been disdained. An exception had been William Watson, at Plymouth, who had promised compliance in a fortnight. "But I despair of doing any thing with Bartlett & Glover," Bradford continued. "The latter bawls out of the unreasonableness of calling on him when he is in advance for the Continent." As to prizes under his own jurisdiction, he promised that he "would give a very close attention to settle the Accounts . . . to pay the men their proper proportions and to forward to your board all the documents ordered and when I know what Ballance remains shall dispose of it agreeable to orders."

Another prize, the brigantine *Triton*, Thomas Brinton, master, of 130 tons, with a cargo of dried fish for a Mediterranean port, arrived just a few hours after Waters brought in the *Elizabeth*. She had been sent in by Tucker and Skimmer. Bradford studied her manifest—pickled salmon and "Merchantable Cod Fish." Not a bad hawl, as he advised Robert Morris. That arrival was eclipsed a week later when the same pair arrived with the brigantine *Lively*, Nicholas Martindale, master, of 150 tons burden, with a cargo of clothing for General Howe.

"I have the honour to Congratulate your Excellency," Bradford wrote Washington on November 14, "on the Acquisition lately made by the Arm'd Schooners Franklin & Hancock of a Brig bound from Scotland to [New] York with a Cargo Calculated to make the Winters Campaign more comfortable to your Army. I should have forwarded the particulars to your Excellency but General Ward has the Manifest now Copying to forward." No copy for

Washington, but to John Hancock that same day he enclosed "the Copy of a manifest of the Cargo of a Brig brought in yesterday . . . a most valuable Acquisition, on which I most heartily Congratulate you & my Country."

The *Lively* was the richest prize since the *Hope*. Her principal manifest totaled £25,000 sterling, and embraced 17,000 suits of clothes, 30,000 shirts, 30,000 pairs of stockings, and 30,000 pairs of shoes! Clothing enough for an army! A supplemental manifest included a considerable yardage of linens, from sheeting to cambric; of liquors, from red port to white Lisbon; and miscellaneous items such as soap, candles, barley and tobacco.

Procrastination of General Ward delayed shipment of the clothing to the army. Twelve wagons with thirty-nine bales finally moved out of Boston on December 6 and 7, but the ailing general advised no one until December 23, when he reported to Congress that the goods should be appraised before being used. Bradford had agreed to shipment before valuation because of "inconvenience of sending them in a loose state." This action, of course, hopelessly delayed settlement of the *Lively*'s accounts.

The agent libeled against all three prizes arriving in November, and trial was set for December 17 at Salem. There would be no more captures that year, as "all the schooners are now in port and the men seem loth to go out on a cruise this Season by reason the Vessels are so uncomfortable." Bradford had received no instructions about the gunless *Lynch*, and he repeated his inquiry, expressing his usual prejudice against John Ayres: the schooner "remains in pay doing nothing for the want of cannon, and was the[y] compleat, theirs not the least probability of her ever doing any thing for the honour of the State . . . . the Cap[t] would not get men to go with him."

The agent was having trouble, too, with Tucker. When the *Hancock* and the *Franklin* reached Boston, the former's first lieutenant reported the captain had taken a number of things out of a prize, including some muskets, selling them in Marblehead and pocketing the money. Bradford taxed Tucker with this and reported that "he acknowledged it." This seems unlikely, as Tucker produced a statement from the master and cargo owner of the prize, attesting that he had treated them with civility, and "after some of the

sailors had been robbed of some goods and clothes by the people . . . he was at the pains to search for the goods, which he found and delivered, and such part as could not be found he generously paid the full price out of his own pocket."

Despite Bradford's disapproval of Tucker, when the *Hancock* was pronounced "unfit to proceed [to sea] again," he proposed shifting him to one of the other schooners. As the year waned the agent gave the Marine Committee a picture of his Excellency's navy. John Skimmer was reluctant to cruise longer without a proper commission; had commanded by a brevet from General Ward, and "runs the risque of being ill treated if he should be taken." John Ayres he already had pronounced judgment upon. Daniel Waters "seems determined not to exert himself in the public Cause." The *Lee* and the *Lynch* both were good vessels, and the *Franklin*, the worst of the lot.[5]

William Burke again had been heard from, "a prisoner on board a Guard ship very Ill." The hoped-for exchange had not materialized, so Bradford appealed to John Hancock on December 5. He had written in November "to the Amiable General," he advised, but Washington's "mind is so engaged that no provision is made to release poor Burke." On Christmas Day came another reminder of "poor Burke." The late Continental schooner *Warren*, serving as a tender to the frigate *Milford*, ran ashore in a storm near Portsmouth. She was seized along with her crew of fifty. As she had been condemned in admiralty court at Halifax, she could not be claimed for the Continent, but belonged to her New Hampshire captors.

Interlude 1777

WINTER QUARTERS for the Continental army had been established in Morristown, New Jersey, on January 7, after a whirlwind campaign had closed the old year and opened the new. In the short space of four months Washington had experienced the depth of despair—evacuation of New York, loss of Fort Washington, retreat across New Jersey—and the height of success—victories at Trenton and Princeton. The turning point had come on December 13, when a party of British light horse had surprised Major General Charles Lee at Basking Ridge, four miles from his division, and whisked him off, bareheaded and coatless, not just as a prisoner of war, but as a deserter from the British army. But Congress, in Baltimore, not realizing its blessing in the capture of the malicious, scheming and treacherous Lee, had already ordered Washington to exchange him, and, if the enemy ill-treated him, to retaliate on Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell at Boston, and five Hessian officers taken at Trenton.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

Prize Sale Troubles and Loss of the "Lynch"

WITH THE ARMED SCHOONERS unable to cruise in the wintry weather of January, 1777, the idle crews became more and more uneasy about long overdue prize money. Uneasiness gave way to suspicion and distrust when one public sale of prize goods convinced them "that the Continental prizes were given away for half price." John Bradford was an unwitting participant in this unfortunate incident. While the bulk of the cargo of the brigantine *Lively* had been carted off to the army, the Continental agent still held a considerable quantity of cloth, liquor and miscellaneous goods. Two young gentlemen, Abraham Livingston and William Turnbull, dispatched to Boston by the Secret Committee of Congress to purchase and collect clothing for the army, expressed a desire for some of the goods. Bradford recommended a public auction as "the most Eligeble method of securing them."

The auction was held in Sheriff William Greenleaf's office beginning January 8. Before any goods were offered Turnbull made a brief speech, explaining that what he and his companion bought would be for the use of the American army. This patriotic appeal had the desired effect. No one bid against him, "excepting one of the Captors once or twice." Thus Turnbull acquired a large quantity of checked shirts at the bargain price of six pence each, and shoes for six shillings a pair! There were angry mutterings from a little group of officers and men of the armed schooners.

Bradford was alarmed. He talked to Turnbull after the first day's sale, and "gave him my opinion that it was not the wish of the Hon^ble^. Congress to debar the Captors of any advantage that

might arise to them from the high price of goods, as two-thirds of the Cargo already belong's to them [the Congress]." If the agent expected his advice would be heeded, he was disappointed. When the second day's sale ended, men from the schooners and Jonathan Glover, agent for many of them, came storming "open mouth'd and bitterly complained of the unfair methods taken to sell the goods." Turnbull retorted that he had given more than he could wish and feared his constituents would blame him. To disprove that, a Boston merchant, who had not bidden, came forward and offered him a hundred per cent on his entire purchase, adding much to the anger of the seamen.

"I stand in such a scituation that its difficult to shun blame from the one part or the other," Bradford bemoaned to the Secret Committee, "however I don't know that either party have yet found fault [with me] and hope to stear clear of reflections."

Turnbull and Livingston, on their part, were getting their fill of "the Mercenary beings Around us," as the latter wrote Robert Morris. He mentioned "for your Consideration the Propriety of Agents, whether they ought to be Agents for the Continent and Captor all at the same time. This Conduct the Continent has severely felt the Effect of." Livingston, of course, was referring to Jonathan Glover.

In striving to appease the irate captors, Bradford assured them "that the other part of the cargo should be an open fair sale w[h]ere no one will be barred from bidding." In the two days of the sale, Livingston and Turnbull had purchased more than eight thousand pounds worth of the *Lively*'s cargo, and gave the agent a draft on Robert Morris for the amount. This draft, instead of a cash sale, left him "bare of money."

"I have sundry times been oblige'd to borrow from my friends after advancing all my own money," he explained to Hancock. "I dont mean to complain for the Little I have of it is at my Countrys service and am read[y] to testify my attachment to it with my life. But when I am called on for money by poor men who have Earnd it and cannot give it to them it grieves me." That statement would ring a lot truer had he not written a week earlier, "I have had no complaints from any of the Captures [captors] for when they ask me for money I have always given them that on a Settlement the[y] wont have any great sum to receive." [1]

Two of the schooners—the *Hancock* and the *Franklin*—Bradford returned at the end of January to their respective owners, Thomas Grant and Archibald Selman, of Marblehead. He had tried to induce Daniel Waters to take the *Lee* out on a winter cruise, but that captain refused "because he was going to Congress." Samuel Tucker announced that he was going, too. Bradford surmised they were in hopes of promotion.

Their departure drew unkind remarks from him, contained in a letter to Hancock entrusted to Waters for delivery: "I shall not mention at present any thing relative to this persons caracter, I beg leave to refer you to my former Letters." As to Tucker, that gentleman "is by no means qualifyed to rise higher in Command being the most volatile empty body I ever met with, little credit being to be given to any thing he says And his principle of honesty being very suspicious." Continuing: "I assure you Sir it gives me pain to caracterise in so disagreeable a light, But I can with great truth say its from an ardent wish that such persons only may be employ'd that will do honour to our growing navy the distracted state I found that part in over which I have the honour to preside I have in several Ltrs hinted to you great allowances are to be made while the Navy is as it were in Embraio."

John Skimmer was assigned to the *Lee*. Bradford was in hopes "poor Burke will be here to command the Lynch." John Ayres was still nominally her captain, although absent during most of January. The Massachusetts Council asked Bradford in mid-February for a vessel to carry to France dispatches just received from the Secret Committee. He had the *Lynch* available, and the Council put the matter under his direction. As Burke had not returned from captivity, he sent for Ayres. To Bradford's surprise, Ayres refused to sail unless, "to support the dignity of his Commis^{n}.," the *Lynch* was armed with four guns and manned by at least twenty men. As the Continental agent had no authority nor inclination to rearm the schooner, he promptly discharged Ayres with the comment, "we are luckily rid of him." He was happy to have anticipated a desire from the Massachusetts Board of War that he "get another Cap^{t}. as they did not approve of Ayres." Bradford selected John Adams (naturally not *the* John Adams), who before the war had been in John Hancock's employ, and was "as smart and as capable a man as any in the state."

"I leave you to judge, Sir," he advised Robert Morris, "if that man [Ayres] is diserving a Commis[n]. who the council did not choose to trust a pacquet by." Maybe Bradford did not consider John Ayres worthy of a commission, but the latter, none the less, followed Waters and Tucker to Congress.

In addition to dispatches from the Secret Committee, Bradford had received instructions from Morris to forward to France a letter "of very great Consequence to the Public." The agent was duly impressed, as his directions to Captain Adams indicated:

> tis my order that you imbrace the first fair wind and make the best of your way to the port of Nant[e]s in france, carefully avoiding coming nere any vessells at Sea. You are to keep your dispatches from Congress with all your private Letters, Slung with a proper weight, and be in readiness to sink them at a moments warning. But to Bare in mind not to be Surprised into such an Act before you are well assured that [you] are really in the power of your Enemy, and cannot make your escape.

At Nantes Adams was to report to the firm of Pliarne, Penet and Company, which would furnish him "with the necessary for Conducting you to Paris." He should deliver the dispatches in person to the American Commissioners, and follow their directions thereafter. Bradford had been unable to procure a cargo of articles "we usually send to france," so he had improvised as best he could, with one hundred tierces of pickled salmon from the prize brig *Triton*, along with a ton of potash, and "about three tuns of Currious Oil." This latter, he explained, was "such as they manufacture leather with." To Pliarne, Penet and Company he suggested, "If you have any inclination to Speculate in the Article of Bohea tea, and have any Goods at market, if you ship twelve chests by Cap[t]. Adams and interest me one half I make no doubt it will give a hundred PC proffit."

To Benjamin Franklin, Bradford wrote in his best effusive way: "The agreeable News of your arrival at the Cort of France diffused a joy throughout this Continent, may it please an Indulgent providence to confirm your Helth, that you may in the Eve of Life Render your Country as important Service as you have rendered the world heretofore."

Rough winter weather prevented early departure of the *Lynch*.

It was so cold in the latter part of February that Bradford reported, "My Ink freeses in my pen by a good fire in your warm Compting room in the upper Store." On March 3 the schooner sailed under a master "of a Vivid Sprightly make and very Capable."

Once the *Lynch* was dispatched, Bradford sought to dispose of the remainder of the *Lively*'s cargo in that "open fair sale" he had promised the captors. Robert Morris had replied to his remonstrance against the tactics of Livingston and Turnbull with the statement "that altho the Congress wish by all means to procure the Public Stores on the most reasonable terms possible, yet they cannot desire to injure one Part of the Public service for the sake of another, and that the Honest Tars ought to have fair play in the sales of their Prizes."

The *Lively* herself and the unsold portions of her cargo were auctioned off on March 11 at top prices. The brig brought the amazingly high figure of £1200. Bradford was the purchaser. He bought her for private account of Robert Morris, but, appalled at the price he had paid, recommended that she be charged to the Secret Committee. "We can with propriety give the Lively up to the Continent," he urged upon Morris. And that was what eventually happened, to the cost of the public! But the "Honest Tars" profited.

Captain John Adams, in the *Lynch*, made a safe and fairly rapid passage to France, reaching Nantes thirty days after departure from Boston. Jonathan Williams, Jr., Dr. Franklin's nephew, handling commercial affairs at that port, announced his arrival and added that the captain had "set off with his dispatches for Paris." Adams delivered his packet to Silas Deane, one of the Commissioners, on April 5 at the latter's residence, the Hôtel d'Hambourg.

The Commissioners had dispatches ready—one a very long epistle which had been begun on March 12 and concluded on April 9. They entrusted these to Adams, along with a letter of instructions penned by the third Commissioner, Arthur Lee, and sent him off to Nantes on April 11. Lee warned him to sink his dispatches if in danger of capture, and "to prevent this misfortune, you will constantly keep a good look-out, & be very cautious how you approach any vessel to speak her, which should not be attempted, but in case

of absolute necessity & want of information on the Coast." Adams carried an order from the Commissioners to Jonathan Williams, Jr., to ship on Continental account in the *Lynch* as many firearms as she could hold.

Pliarne, Penet and Company disposed of pickled salmon, potash and "Currious Oil" and invested the proceeds in articles that "put her in a set of Ballast." Whether her cargo included any Bohea tea on speculation with Bradford is not recorded. Williams sent on board twenty-one cases containing fusees and pistols. All this, along with provisioning, watering and wooding, consumed a little more than a month's time. On May 19 John Adams dropped down the Loire, past Paimboeuf and St. Nazaire, and out into the Bay of Biscay, Boston bound. A British ship-of-the-line intercepted him southward of Belle Isle. Finding he could not escape, he made a desperate attempt to run the *Lynch* aground on the south coast of that island. The man-of-war "got between him & the land & took him within very small distance from Shore"; not, however, before he had weighed and sunk his dispatches.

The *Lynch*'s captor was the eighty-gun ship *Feudroyant*, Captain John Jervis, which had been cruising for some time in the bay, and whose commander was delighted to learn that his prize was loaded "with Arms and Clothing for the Use of the Rebel Army." The *Feudroyant* concluded her cruise at Plymouth, England, on May 23, bringing the *Lynch* in with her. Adams was held until July, and then made his way to France. Before that, John Bradford had learned of the loss of the *Lynch*.[2] The navy his Excellency had founded was now reduced to a single vessel—the *Lee*.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

Washington Defends Lieutenant Colonel Campbell

AT HEADQUARTERS in Freeman's Tavern, on the public square of the little northern New Jersey village of Morristown, Washington received a letter which once more encroached upon his time with a problem relating to his navy. It came from Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell, of the Seventy-first Highlanders, writing on February 4 from "the Common Goal of Concord." The Scotch officer charged that he had been thrust there by the Massachusetts Council upon orders from the Continental Congress, because of "refusal of General Howe to give up General [Charles] Lee for Six Field Officers, of whom I was one, and the placing of that Gentleman under Charge of the Provost of New York." The letter had been three weeks on its way and his Excellency was disturbed to read of such indignity heaped on the writer.

Nothing in Congressional resolves authorized such humiliation. Congress had learned that General Lee had been committed to the custody of the provost, and feared this was "strongly indicative of further injuries to his person." It had threatened retaliation if ill treatment of Lee continued, but had instructed the Massachusetts Council only to detain Lieutenant Colonel Campbell and keep him in safe custody until further orders. While Howe menaced Lee with court-martial as a deserter from the British army, the captured general had reported that, although confined in the city hall with a sentry posted at the door, he had a fine large room and was well provided with food; a far cry from Campbell's description of the lodgings in Concord jail.

Washington was averse to the whole policy of retaliation. He minced no words, therefore, in telling James Bowdoin, president of the Massachusetts Council, that Campbell had given "such an Account of the severity of his confinement as is scarcely ever inflicted upon the most atrocious Criminals." His description of his prison cell, "if true, is shocking to humanity and not to be justified by the most strict interpretation of the Resolve of Congress." Washington quoted the resolve, and "By this you will observe, that *exactly the same Treatment* is to be shewn to Colo Campbell . . . that Genl. Howe shews to General Lee; and, as he is only confined in a commodious House with genteel accomodations, we have no right or reason to be more severe upon Colo. Campbell." Washington wanted the prisoner "removed from his present Situation and put into a House where he may live comfortably."

Campbell's letter had contained a bitter complaint against John Bradford. Washington, perhaps, took a bit of pleasure in commenting to Bowdoin that, if the charges against the Continental agent were just, it "reflects dishonor upon our service." He quoted Campbell as charging Bradford with plundering him of his personal property, and seizing and selling the pistols that had been restored to his officers. If the charges were not true, "Capt. Bradford may have an opportunity of wiping off the Aspersions." He sent Campbell's letter to Congress, urging reconsideration of the retaliation resolve, and remarking that both Massachusetts Council and Continental agent had exceeded their authority in their treatment of that officer.

The ailing Artemus Ward on March 3 was relieved as commander of the Eastern Department, and was replaced by Major General William Heath, a Bostonian. Washington's final order relative to his little New England fleet was issued to Heath shortly thereafter. The Massachusetts Council had written regarding fifteen tons of powder loaned to the Continent. Washington thought it had been returned long since. "If it has not," he advised Heath, "I have no objection to returning what has been had for the use of the Army, but with respect to that lent to the Armed Vessels, if it has happened since my departure from Boston, I can give no order as it is not within my department but comes properly before that of the Marine; you must therefore discriminate."

An astounding disavowal that! Apparently his Excellency had not examined his letters of instruction to Ward in April, May and June, 1776. Or, perhaps, it was a good opportunity to pass responsibility to the Marine Committee and its Boston agent long before they ever had sought it.

Washington's recommendation on retaliation and Campbell's objections to his treatment at Boston were considered in Congress on March 14. In Committee of the Whole, it discussed the subject in detail and emerged with a decision not to alter the resolution. It conceded, however, that someone had misunderstood, by adding, "And, as to the complaint of Colonel Campbell, it was never their intention that he should suffer any other hardship than such confinement as is necessary to his security for the purpose of that resolve." A copy of the resolution was sent to the Massachusetts Council with copies of Campbell's letter to both the Council and John Bradford.

No one could have detected any censure in the words with which John Hancock wrote to the Council. After all, he was addressing his constituents in Massachusetts! "You will perceive . . . that Col°. Campbell apprehends himself treated in a very unjustifiable Manner," he wrote, and added parenthetically, "The Truth of which you will determine." Continuing, "At the same Time you will perceive the Sense of Congress as to the Nature and Intention of his Confinement." His letter to Bradford has not come to light, but was acknowledged by the agent as "your former favour Covering Coll[l]. Campbells Complaint against the Hon[ble]. Council and the Notorious falsitys exhibited against myself."

Congress then dealt another blow to John Bradford's pride. Daniel Waters and Samuel Tucker were appointed "captains in the navy of the United States," despite objections he had voiced concerning both men. The Marine Committee reported that Waters and Tucker "were early employed by General Washington, and were strongly recommended by the General and others," but that they should take rank after the officers of the Continental navy as set by Congress October 10, 1776. When seniority was then established, it had been thought improper to include officers of his

Excellency's navy in the ranking. They were definitely in a service considered apart from the Continental navy.[1]

Waters and Tucker performed another disservice to Bradford by charging that he had not distributed the prize money due them. Jonathan Glover, as agent for many of the men, again had denounced the agent for refusing to pay him the captors' share of prizes. Neither Bradford nor Washington's agents had complied with the Marine Committee's instructions of the previous Fall to send in accounts, make division of prize money, and remit balances. Several had indicated that heavy advances had made the Continent their debtor. William Watson, from Plymouth, had written a belated acknowledgment, assuring the committee "that no negligence on my part has retarded the settlement of these accounts." He blamed "the slow tedious movement of the Court of Admiralty," and two appeals to Congress as yet undecided.

The Marine Committee concluded that a drastic step was necessary or accounts of the armed schooners would go unendingly on. It appointed three Bostonians as commissioners "to adjust the several accounts of the Agents appointed by General Washington for the fleet fitted out by his direction." These were "Deacon" William Phillips, Ebenezer Storer, shortly to be elected treasurer of Harvard College, and Isaac Smith, of the mercantile firm of Codman and Smith, all of "well known Zeal for the Public cause."

"The Marine Committee requests you will undertake the said business and proceed in it with as much expedition as possible," read the instructions sent them on March 21. Recognizing that the Continent might owe money to certain agents, the commissioners were authorized to pay all balances and draw on the committee for any sums so required. They were also empowered to value such goods as might have been delivered from prizes for army use. They were to observe that Washington's fleet was not entitled to so large a proportion of prizes as were those serving "in the Navy line constituted by a Congress," and should be governed by regulations made by Washington.

Division of one-third to the captors for a merchantman, transport or storeship, and one-half for a war vessel, as set originally by Washington, had never been changed. For the Continental

navy, however, Congress had increased captors' shares in merchantmen to one-half, and full value for a war vessel.

To Washington's agents and Bradford went a circular letter announcing appointment of the commissioners, outlining their authority, and requiring each agent "to pay due regard to the application of these Gentlemen . . . so that the same may be effected with all possible expedition." An additional and special letter was sent to John Bradford:

> We find complaints are made by the officers and Seamen concerned in the Capture of Prizes that have fallen into your hands as Continental Agent, for want of a distribution of Prize Money, and it is urged by Mr. Glover their Agent that you neglect or refuse to settle the accounts or to pay him the share appertaining to the Captors which puts it totally out of his power to make such distribution, and in consequence of these delays the Maritime service of the Continent suffers exceedingly, in short it is owing to unhappy circumstances of this kind that the navy cannot be manned, and we now must press your immediate attention and utmost exertion to settle the accounts of every prize whose circumstances can admit of settlement.

"We must also remind you," the committee continued, "of our Letter of Instruction . . . the receipt of which you acknowledged but hitherto have not complyd with the Contents." In conclusion, the committee supposed "it will be sufficient to inform you, we shall be under a necessity of requiring Strict Complyance with those instructions from all the Agents." [2]

While Bradford, shortly after departure of the *Lynch*, expected that "the Lee Cap[t] Skimmer will go on a Cruise in a few days," sailing of the last of his Excellency's cruisers again and again was postponed. For one thing, Robert Morris had expressed his sentiments, and believed he spoke for all other members of the Marine Committee, against continued hire of the armed schooners. Morris approved of employment of the *Lynch* to carry dispatches to France, but preferred buying her to merely keeping her in pay. If any of the other vessels were suitable for cruisers, he advocated their purchase, "especially as I suppose some of the Commanders and officers have merit to deserve a continuance in the service." If

the schooners could not be bought, then "they should be paid off and dismissed."

This letter reached Boston too late to affect the *Lynch*, but sent Bradford scurrying off to Marblehead to negotiate with Thomas Stevens, owner of the *Lee*. Stevens refused to consider selling; in fact, he would "not part with her on any terms." It would be difficult to construe anything Morris had written as permitting the Continental agent to continue the employment of the *Lee* on a rental basis. But Bradford did so, because he considered John Skimmer an excellent commander, who, to quote the only part of Morris' letter to which he paid any attention, deserved "a continuance in the service."

No Continental commission for Skimmer had been forthcoming. Of all the armed schooner captains, he alone had not received a commission from Washington, having entered the service two months after Washington had departed for New York. Bradford applied to the Massachusetts General Court, therefore, for a letter-of-marque-and-reprisal commission for Skimmer to protect him against British indignities if captured, and to bridge the gap until a proper Continental commission was received. His petition set forth that as Continental agent he had fitted out the *Lee* "for a Cruise Against the Enemy, and that Captain John Skimmer had the Command of her, But the Lee being lately Commanded by Capt. Daniel Waters, who has given her up, the petitioner prays the Honble. Board to Grant a Commisn. to John Skimmer." The commission was granted, and a Continental bond was entered on March 12.

Armament of the schooners had varied from four to six guns until the British evacuation of Boston and subsequent departure of Commodore Banks's squadron. Then, with longer cruising ranges, the number of 4-pounders had been increased. The *Warren*, when captured, had eight guns. The *Lynch* also had eight until Ayres threw them overboard to escape capture. Now the *Lee* was armed with ten carriage guns, eighteen swivels and four coehorns. Her complement was increased to fifty-four officers and men, and John Skimmer sailed March 20 on his first cruise in his new command.[3]

Three days before that, Washington's letter to James Bowdoin

spurred the Massachusetts Council to action. After thirty-four days "under the security of double Locks and Bars," Lieutenant Colonel Campbell was released from, as he described it, "the Iron Grated Cell of Malefactors, a Cell which had been fresh encrusted with the blood of Suicide, & from whence a Mutilated Thief was removed for my reception." The Council then engaged in what the enraged Scotchman termed, "a mock enquiry into the shameful conduct" of Bradford in robbing him of private property "to the amount of Three hundred pound Sterling," and "suffering the pillager to sell the Side Arms of my Officers, after they have been honorably restored to them by the Captors."

The Council sent Bradford a copy of Washington's letter and requested an explanation. He made it on March 17, adroitly evading a direct answer to the charge of taking Campbell's private property. Seizure of the sidearms, he averred, as he had done before, was by General Ward's direction, and they were sold because they lay rusting in his office. He listed those to whom weapons had been sold and insisted that the money received was credited to the public. "It would give me great pain not to stand right in the Esteem of his Excellʸ. Generall Washington," he concluded, "but I Regard not the Censure of Colonel Campbell."

This letter was passed along to Campbell, who supplied a list of his private property which Bradford "had given repeated promises" would be returned. "He was pleased by idle Subterfuge to elude the execution of his promises," the Lieutenant Colonel continued, "and since that period I have never received any farther satisfaction concerning them, except the polite epithets of base, false, and insidious." Campbell named fellow officers who could verify his charge, and commented, "From you Gentlemen, I have a claim to the justice of so fair an enquiry, but if I am refused it before an exchange of the above mentioned Gentlemen takes place, let it henceforth be remembered that the proof of his conviction was ready but would not be received." [4]

No inquiry was held. Bradford was permitted to rebut the charges, which he did to the Council's satisfaction, as he informed John Hancock. He further advised his patron that sale of the side arms to various officers took place because "there was no withstanding their Collicitations." Concluding, he wrote: "I don't

know if I did Wrong if I did I am heartily sorry for it As we are likely soon to have the happiness of seeing you here I will lay before you Ample proof where the Coll[l]. offers to support absolute falsities by his Officers."

All of which well explains why Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, upon his exchange a year later, extended to the Massachusetts Council "Thirteen thousand Thanks . . . for thirteen thousand most infernal Virtues, that ever disgraced the leading Councill of thirteen Revolted Provinces." [5]

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

Belated Settlements and John Skimmer's Cruises

THE COMMISSIONERS appointed to settle accounts of prizes taken by Washington's navy proceeded to business in Boston early in April. John Bradford, brushing off the Marine Committee's letter as a "mild Reprehension," nonetheless proceeded to anticipate any requisitions from the commissioners. Hitherto he had refused to meet Jonathan Glover's demands as prize agent for the crews because of what he considered the "impropriety in paying money to a person of whom I had rec'd express Orders from the hon^ble. Board to receive monies from." Also, he was bitterly resentful that Glover had "wrested the powder Ship from me." Now he hastened off to Marblehead and Gloucester and paid the latter and Winthrop Sargent "the Ballance due to the Captors for which they were Agents as far as we had compleated the Sales of the prizes."

Having taken this prompt step, Bradford was ready to reply to the Marine Committee. It was not from inattention to orders that he had failed to comply with its directive of the previous October. He wished officers and seamen had no just reason for complaint, but unfortunately they had. He begged leave, however, "to Exculpate myself" from blame. He was going to lay his books before the commissioners and show them "that I have paid the men 2000 £ prize money, besides having paid Colo Glover £ 919." To do this, he had borrowed "large Sums," and advanced £ 700 of his own. He had been unable to settle the accounts of a number of prizes, particularly the *Lively*, as "the Exegencies of the Army

being such, I was oblig'd to send forward large quantities of Goods uninvoiced and unappraised." Authority now given the commissioners to make appraisals, he was happy to say, would "remedy that evil." His concluding assurance was that "I shall loose no time in Settling every account."

By design or otherwise, he already had found a reason to retard final settlement to those "poor Tars." He could not pay full shares until he was instructed what table he should use. Congress had set up a distribution method calculated for vessels having a larger number of officers (commissioned, warrant and petty) than were in the armed schooners. To pay on this basis, Bradford feared, would "give Umbrage to the men." The officers and men themselves, he wrote Hancock, "seem to choose to divide in Shares according to the Plan The[y] agreed on when they entred first into the Service." That plan, which was Washington's original distribution, certainly seemed a reasonable solution, but the agent insisted he must "be indulged with Directions."

This dilemma of distribution did not interfere with completing accounts of prize sales, and the Marine Committee letter, plus prodding by the commissioners, spurred Bradford on. Within three weeks he had finished the affairs of all but the *Lively* and the *Peggy*. The former was delayed until the commissioners appraised the goods sent to the army. The latter lay at a Boston wharf, "A fine Ship going to Ruin," awaiting Congressional action on the appeal of her original owners. The completed accounts, "attested by the auctioneer," went off for Philadelphia on April 22: "I am now settling with Mr. [Jonathan] Glover the people's Agent, and have submitted my receipt Book to the Gentlemen Commissioned by the honorable Board to let them see the monies I have paid the Captors from the first of my being in office, as it evidently Appears to them Gentlemen, that the sailors complaints Originated from a different quarter."

His letter concluded with an announcement that Captain Skimmer, in the *Lee*, had sent into Marblehead a prize with dry fish, mackerel and some oil from Canso for Barbados, but, "The Wind being Contrary she is not yet got up." [1]

For two weeks following depature from Boston, John Skimmer's foray into the Atlantic was without incident. Eastward of Bermuda early in April, he espied and chased a vessel, which he spoke: an American armed ship, the *Success*, James Anderson, master, bound from Nantes for Philadelphia with military stores. For the ensuing week he remained in this area, athwart the course of the British West India trade. Thereafter, he stood northeasterly following the Great Circle route.[2]

His first prize, taken on April 13, was the schooner *Hawke*, seventy tons burden, Daniel Collins, master, and Enoch Rust, owner—the same Enoch Rust, of Nova Scotia, who had figured as owner of the sloop *Phoebe*, seized in 1775 by Broughton and Selman, and released by his Excellency's order. This was another year. Captures no longer were limited to vessels supplying the British forces in America. The *Hawke* was from Canso for Barbados, "ladden with fish and oyl." Skimmer sent her for Boston. It was a good beginning, as she held a third of a ton of codfish.

Working northward on the Newfoundland Banks on May 3, he took the sloop *Betsey*, fifty tons burden, Nathaniel Horrick, master. She had been out from London fifty-three days, fishing and salting her catch. She had five thousand green fish stowed away and forty hogsheads of salt remaining. Off for Boston she went, although, being fourteen years old, she was not a prize to get excited about. A week later another fisherman was taken: the brigantine *Charles*, Jeffery Tapley, master, from Waterford, Ireland. Skimmer manned her with a prize crew under his sailing master, William Hooper, and ordered her for Boston. Neither tonnage, nor quantity of fish in her hold are recorded, for twelve days later she was retaken by his Majesty's frigate *Mermaid*, and sent into Halifax.[3]

The *Lee*'s complement had been depleted by three prize crews, and she had about thirty prisoners below deck. Hence, when Skimmer happened upon two more fishermen, he dared not spare men to send them to Boston. Provisions were low, and there was danger of an uprising among the Britishers penned in the hold. He put a few seamen in each and escorted them for the nearest port, Falmouth, in the eastern district of Massachusetts. They were brigantines from the Island of Jersey: the *Capelin*, John Coulrick,

master, 110 tons burden, and the *Industry*, John Browne, master, of eighty tons. Cargoes were "a trifle of green fish and 70 Hhds of Salt."

Arriving in Casco Bay about June 10, Skimmer applied to Simeon Mayo, Bradford's deputy in Falmouth. Cargoes were landed and stored. Much of the provision in the vessels was requisitioned for the *Lee*. Both prizes were placed in Mayo's care, who libeled them in the admiralty court for the eastern district. Skimmer drew on Mayo for sixty dollars; Mayo raised the amount by the unique method of borrowing £ 24 sterling from Captain Coulrick of the *Capelin*, and giving the Britisher an order on John Bradford for that amount. Lieutenant John Lewis, of the *Lee*, remained in Falmouth to guard the prizes against embezzlement, and the schooner nosed out of the bay, heading for Boston.

When Skimmer reached port about June 25, he brought with him inventories of the two prizes at Falmouth, and found Bradford somewhat upset that he had not convoyed both brigantines around to Boston, for "they wou'd Sell for a great price here being very much wanted." The captain explained his reasons, so the agent concluded "that the sales of them Vessels will determine me whether it will be best to Sell any prizes in Falmouth . . . or run the risque of getting them to Boston." He wrote Mayo, urging speedy sale, settlement and remittance, as he "was pressed for the want of money."

Arrival of the *Hawke* and the *Betsey* had started Bradford on a new chain of accounts. He had libeled against both, and had scored a victory in admiralty court over the Tory, Enoch Rust, who had entered a claim for the former and her cargo of codfish, mackerel and oil, contending that "neither the said Schooner nor any of the aforesaid Articles of her Cargo are by Law forfeited." The record does not disclose on what ground Rust's counsel based this claim, but a jury of twelve good and true Bostonians decided that the *Hawke* was a legitimate prize, and that the Tory's claim was not "properly supported." The *Hawke* was sold at public auction on June 3, and the *Betsey*, which had been condemned without contest, a month later. Despite her fourteen years of age, the little sloop brought £ 500, and encouraged Bradford to urge

Mayo at Falmouth to get £ 1,000 for the *Capelin*, and not to let the *Industry* go "under £850 with all her materials."[4]

Pressed for funds though he might be, the Continental agent provisioned Skimmer for another expedition into the Atlantic. William Addiscott, master's mate, filled the vacancy left by the capture of sailing master Hooper, and the *Lee* sailed about July 24.

Well into August, John Skimmer spoke a Boston-bound merchantman, and sent word to Bradford of his lack of success in the prize way. He had been cruising south of Cape Race and to the eastward of the Newfoundland Banks, and had determined to remain their until the end of the month, and then try his luck by heaving "himself in the Way of ye West India Fleet." On August 29, about thirty leagues east of the banks, he spotted a westbound brig and overhauled her after a long pursuit. She was the *Industrious Bee*, of 160 tons burden, John Biddecomb, master. Brand new, having "been off ye Stocks but ten Months," she belonged to Liverpool, England, and was carrying a cargo of five hundred hogsheads of "LaMalt Salt," from the Straits of Gibraltar for St. John's, Newfoundland. She was a remarkably fine vessel in Skimmer's estimation, so he manned her with a picked crew, and ordered her for Boston. The *Industrious Bee* parted with the *Lee* that same day, and "Capt. John Skimmer with his Crew were left well."

Not only were Skimmer and his men well, but the capture of the brig seemed a good augury, for next day they intercepted another vessel, the snow *Lively*, John Carter, master. She was bound from Bristol, England, for Halifax, with rice and staves. Carter later deposed that "they were Chased, fired at and taken by a Rebel Privateer the Lee Commanded by one Jno. Skinner [*sic*]." Considering her as valuable as the *Industrious Bee*, Skimmer placed in her his new master, William Addiscott, with a small crew, and sent her off. She was not destined to reach Boston. On September 23, fifteen leagues from that port, the tender of his Majesty's frigate *Diamond* retook her.

Addiscott and his men were landed eventually in Halifax and confined, along with three hundred or more prisoners, in "a large brick building, barracaded by a very high fence, under the care of the provost guard." Other captives attested that "often did the

land and navy officers come to the said provost guard, and ordered persons to go on board the British ships, and upon refusing this were kicked and banged, and hauled forcibly away; in particular Mr. Addiscott, master of the schooner Lee, who was taken in a prize." What happened subsequently to the unlucky officer is not in the record, but he escaped his captors six or seven months later and reached Cherbourg, in France.[5]

To return to John Skimmer. After dispatching the *Lively*, he swung the *Lee*'s bow southward, hoping to intercept a sugar ship from the West Indies for England. For almost a month he had little success until, with provisions running low, he was faced with the necessity of concluding his cruise, and headed for Boston. One prize only had rewarded his stay in the more southerly waters—the brigantine *Dolphin*, of 120 tons burden, John Shields, master. "An old vessel & badly found," she was bound from Barbados for Newfoundland with rum and sugar.

The *Lee*, with the *Dolphin* under convoy, turned her bow northwesterly in mid-October. A few days off Boston, Skimmer "came across a French Vessel bound from the Capes for old France." Her master came on board for a parley, and to exchange news and views. After that, strong gales struck the schooner and her prize, driving them safely into Marblehead on October 26, ending a three months' cruise, and the last one for a vessel of his Excellency's little navy.[6]

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

Final Settlements

No difficulties about prize share distribution such as John Bradford had raised bothered Washington's former agents. They proceeded systematically in co-operation with the three commissioners. The commissioners, in turn, expedited admiralty court adjudications and valued such prize goods as had been requisitioned for the army. Two of the agents—Joshua Wentworth at Portsmouth, and William Watson at Plymouth—had small balances due the commissioners when their accounts were completed. The other three—William Bartlett, Jonathan Glover and Winthrop Sargent—were in advance to the Continent.

Much of Bartlett's troubles stemmed from the goods that Thomas Mifflin had taken from the ship *Concord* in December, 1775. The commissioners appraised shoes, blankets, canvas, linen, writing paper and coal at around £3,600. Bartlett endorsed the appraisal with a grateful, "The above was approved by the Commissioners appointed by the Marine Committee for that purpose, May 27, 1777." With this account solved, he was able to present his general account against the United States for outfitting five schooners and handling the prizes carried by them into Beverly. The Continent owed him the tidy sum of 15,013 60/90 dollars.[1]

Jonathan Glover's accounts, embracing such prizes as the powder ship *Hope* and the Scotch transport *Anne*, showed a greater amount due him: 55,091 47/90 Continental dollars. Winthrop Sargent's account indicated a balance due him for his activities around Cape Ann of 3,180½ dollars. The commissioners would have paid the balances with orders on the Marine Committee, but could find no one "who wants the money in Philadelphia." They advised the agents to "send a person express" to Congress, and forwarded

a letter explaining that both Bartlett and Glover were "in a great want of the money." Congress obliged, drawing an order on the Massachusetts loan office in favor of the commissioners for the total amount involved.[2]

Learning that an express had gone to Philadelphia for money, Bradford made one last despairing effort to secure a portion of the commission on prizes which Washington's agents had refused to relinquish to him during May and early June, 1776. He believed his patron, Hancock, was enroute home from Congress, so he appealed to Robert Morris, asking "if you can with propriety (and I shall be intirely satisfied with your judgment in the matter) give me your influence with the Hon^{ble}. Marine Board to give directions to the Commissioners to give me a proportion of the Commission, or if it comes to Mess^{rs}. Glover & Bartlett to stop any proportion for my Acco^{t}." He was too late. Even had Morris been inclined to help, the letter did not arrive in time. A much disgruntled Bradford admitted that "as orders are come forward for the payment of M^{r}. Glover I believe it is too late for Redress."

The agent turned to Morris, too, for help in reconciling Continental prize share distribution with the fewer officers in his Excellency's navy. Requests to the Marine Committee had brought no reply, he informed Morris, although he had so stated it "that it will appear plainly that three inferior officers will share full as much as the Lieut^{s}. Owing to their being few of the lower Class of Officers in these Schooners." Had he consulted the commissioners rather than writing repeatedly to Philadelphia, he would have discovered that distribution was to be according "to the Regulations made by Gen^{l}. Washington." Maybe, however, he accomplished what seemed to be his purpose—to delay settlement for some months.

The *Industrious Bee*, first of John Skimmers' prizes on his second cruise, Bradford reported as "a fine new Brig." He libeled against her and trial was set for October 28. Before then, the *Lee* arrived at Marblehead with the prize brig *Dolphin*. Delayed there by stormy weather, Skimmer wrote Bradford and listed his three prizes but feared that the snow *Lively*, being long overdue, had been retaken. The *Industrious Bee* and the *Dolphin*, Bradford regretted "are y^{e} only Aquisitions that are likely to come into our Hands."

"I should esteem it a Favour to receive orders from ye. honble. board," he wrote the Marine Committee on October 30, "whether to keep the Lee in pay or Discharge her." He warmly recommended Skimmer "as a Gentleman ev'ry way qualified to serve his Country in the Character he's been acting in, being a prudent, brave & vigilant Officer, the Idol of his Men & at the same Time keeps a strict Discipline."

Not awaiting reply, Bradford returned the *Lee* to her owner. Immediately he regretted his precipitancy. A large fleet of British merchantmen were off the coast, and one of them, with a cargo worth £12,000 sterling, had been sent into Portsmouth by a privateer. "We are unlucky," he mourned, "having discharg'd Skimmers Schooner."

He was summoned to the office of the Navy Board of the Eastern Department on December 16. This board had been commissioned to supervise and operate all Continental vessels in New England waters. Congress had not seen fit to delegate such authority to Bradford, who was overburdened in handling prizes, or had created that impression. The Navy Board placed in his hands a letter from the Marine Committee. The committee did not think it proper "that the States should hire armed vessels as cruizers," so it had directed the new board to discharge the schooners, "settle with the Owners and pay them the balance which may be justly due to them." Bradford remarked he already had returned the *Lee* to Thomas Stevens and settled her account for hire. The rest of the letter authorized the Navy Board to give Skimmer a Continental commission and supply him with a suitable command. This had been decided on the recommendation which Bradford had sent the Marine Committee. The Navy Board thereupon "bot. the Industrious Bee to accomodate him." In her, renamed the *General Gates*, John Skimmer, until killed in action in August, 1778, lived up to and exceeded the Continental agent's predictions.[3]

Remaining unsettled was Bradford's final accounting on all prizes taken since mid-June, 1776, and all charges against the schooners from the time outfitting and provisioning had fallen into his province. The prize commissioners had finished their task with the completion of the accounts of Washington's agents. Bradford had promised the Marine Committee to present his accounts for

1776 as early as July, 1777, but produced an excuse, "the Ordna[n]ce being sent to General Washington, could not fill up a number of Blanks for sundrys rec[d]. from that Store." Just what that meant only Bradford knew; it was beyond the power of the Marine Committee to divine. It served as an excuse for six months, when he found a new one.

"I should have forward[d] the Schooners Acc[ts]. before this," he informed the committee on December 19, "but am prevented by the Original Contracts being made between the Owners & hirers in the hurry and Confusion of things were then in." This was about as clear as his former statement, but he added, "We are now ripening toward a Settlement and shall forward them soon."

The "ripening" lasted three months. On March 25, 1778, he struck a new note in delay: "I should have sent forward the Schooners Acc[ts]. but my clerk has been sick, shall give my attention to it, and forward it as soon as possible." Three weeks later he complied. On April 15 he had "the honour to transmit by this opportunity the Schooners Acco[ts]. as compleat as Circumstances would admit, there being a number of the Warren & Lynch Men yet absent which prevents my closing their Accounts at present." The agent still had unsettled in his books the fate of the ship *Peggy*.

"Last July was a year since she was captur'd by the Schooners Hancock & Franklin," he complained. "The Captors are angry, as the Ship is growing worse by laying at the Wharf so long & in another Year would be of little Value, tho' she would now sell for £3,000." He was given assurances "the Case of ye Ship Peggy is soon to be tried," but nothing happened. Absence of reference to it in the journals of Congress implies that the case was ignored. Not that Bradford did not keep sending reminders, as former crew members of the two schooners were constantly on his doorstep. On September 24, 1778, he forwarded a deposition from the former master of the *Peggy*, proving she had been legally condemned at Halifax. "That fact not being ascertained at her Trial here," he explained, "was urged by the Claimants as a Reason why they should not condemn her." He pled for action, as "the Captors are frequently very rude in dealing and their Anathema for being kept from their Share."

When this effort drew continued silence, he addressed a letter

on February 10, 1779, to John Jay, president of Congress. The case of the ship *Peggy*, he admitted, was "of little Importance to the public," but "it is of some consequence to Individuals. He troubled Jay because "the Captors are rather clamorous."

Even that availed naught. The Board of Admiralty succeeded the Marine Committee, and to it, more than a year after the fruitless appeal to Jay, Bradford wrote wistfully, "I would wish the ship Peggy's fate might be known, that matter has laid dormant since the autumn of 1776." Later in 1780 he again addressed the board, with a despairing hope that "the trial of the Ship peggy should be brought on." With the captors' clamor growing harsher, he sold her in the summer of 1782, "without Orders or proper Authority." The record of seven years of procrastination ended with a notice that the case would be heard in the Court of Appeals in June, 1783.[4]

Even as the fate of the *Peggy* dragged on, so did other matters relative to his Excellency's navy. Ever since Bradford had sent Washington most of the arms and military stores taken in the Scotch transports, he had been dodging the lawsuit brought by the Connecticut agent. Barring one unsatisfactory hearing in 1777, the case lay dormant until January, 1782. Two referees then "gave a Satisfactory Award," and Bradford assumed Connecticut would take steps to recover from Congress. But the agent, Samuel Eliot, Jr., was "ungenteal Enought" to take out an execution against Bradford in person. He demanded payment of the whole sum of better than one thousand pounds, which he knew, said Bradford, "it was utterly impossible for me to comply with." Faced with the danger of losing a private fortune to pay a public debt, he hastened to Hartford and stated his case to the governor of Connecticut. Old and wise Jonathan Trumbull suggested he deduct the sum from Connecticut's quota of the eight million dollars for the service of the Continent during the ensuing year.

Bradford grasped at the straw. On April 15, 1782, he drew bills for £592.7.6 in favor of the governor on Robert Morris, as Superintendent of Finance. "Under these Circumstances I can make no doubt but the Bills will be accepted," he wrote, "tho I assure you Sir it gives me pain to draw anything from the grand fund, It would give me pleasure to Add Thousands to it."

The reply gave him greater pain. The Superintendent of Finance was privileged to be pained, too, that he must refuse Bradford's request, and could not accept the bills. "To shew you the Impropriety of drawing," Morris admonished him on May 7, "I need only mention that no Money has ever been placed in the Treasury of the United States since my Appointment for the Payment of past Debts on the Contrary every Sum I have had at Command has been appropriated to the current year."

Fortunately for Bradford's peace of mind and financial security, Morris enclosed a Congressional act of the previous March "to prevent the Officers of the United States from having Executions served on their Persons or Property on Account of Transactions actually on Account of the Continent." "I send you a Certified Copy," the Superintendent of Finance concluded, "in Expectation that you may avail yourself of it." [5]

The war ended, but not the affairs of Washington's navy. Nathaniel Greenwood, a member of the crew of the brig *Washington*, found his way home from a long captivity. To Congress, sitting at Annapolis, came his petition for payment of wages while a prisoner. Greenwood's claim was referred to a special committee. This committee examined the petition, shook its collective head, and suggested to Congress on January 3, 1784, that it be referred to the Agent of Marine to report upon. Congress concurred.

Robert Morris, who acted in the dual capacity of Superintendent of Finance and Agent of Marine, had a familiarity with Washington's fleet which went vaguely back no further than the advent of John Bradford as Continental agent. He transmitted the petition to Joseph Pennell, Commissioner of Accounts for the Marine Department. Pennell had been a clerk for the Marine Committee for years before and might have been expected to have some recollection of the vessel and what happened to her. But memory of man is short-lived. He reported that he could find nothing in the papers in his custody to satisfy him "that the Brig Washington Capt. Martindale was a Continental Vessel though I meet with some circumstances which induce me to believe that she was one of those Vessels fitted out by Order of his Excellency Genl. Washington in the early part of the War." Pennell pointed out that, "admitting her to have been a Continental vessel of War it will be

necessary to enquire further into the matter." The report was read in Congress on February 2, and "entered." [6]

That same session of Congress considered a second problem relative to Washington's navy. Four members of the crew of the schooner *Franklin,* when the powder ship *Hope* was taken, petitioned Congress on March 12, 1784, believing they had been underpaid in the distribution of prize money. They sent their plea under cover to Thomas Mifflin, president of Congress, humbly beseeching him "to forward and Support this our Inclosed Petition." To emphasize their contention, they pointed out that "your Petitioners valiantly Defended the Schooner Franklin in Boston Harbour against the assaults of Commodore Banks's Boats altho but seventeen in Number." Therefore, they prayed "your Honours would Notice this Action and take such Methods as may Justify us for Capturing said Ship and for us to obtain our Rights therein." Congress referred the petition to Morris.

That gentleman was no sentimentalist. He was a patriot, true enough, but also a hardheaded businessman, whose job since 1781 had been to steer the chaotic finances of the United States around the shoals of insolvency, and maintain her credit, if possible, with the courts of Europe. He could not be expected to seek means to further reward the men whose exploit had thrilled the Continent eight years before. His task was to save rather than expend dollars. He consulted returns of prize sales and distribution as the commissioners had reported them in 1777. From all of this, he wrote on April 23, "it appears that the net proceeds of the Ship Hope & Cargo was £54075.17.2 of which one sixth part is £9012.12.10— Wherefore if the twenty-one persons on board the said schooner were (as they might have been) entitled to thirty-seven shares each share would be £243.11.8 & That the Petitioners acknowledge to have received £243, for each single share which was probably the amount thereof." No recommendation from him was needed; the facts seemed to speak for themselves. His analysis was read in Congress on May 3, and, as the Continental Fathers had no more desire than had Morris to go beyond those facts, the report was received and filed. Nevertheless, a grave injustice was done the *Franklin*'s men. They should have received twice the amount per share, as the crew was entitled to one-third, not the one-sixth as Morris figured it.

The record of his Excellency's navy ends with a single additional entry in the journals of Congress. On May 17, 1784, a committee which had been examining unfinished business recommended that all papers in a file labeled No. 5 "should be referred to the consideration of the next Congress." File No. 5 included the report on the petition of Nathaniel Greenwood. No subsequent Congress ever completed that item of unfinished business.[7]

The achievements of Washington's little navy contributed materially to the success of operations against the British in the early years of the war. From the time Nicholson Broughton sent the ship *Unity* into Cape Ann on September 6, 1775, until John Skimmer carried the rum- and sugar-laden brig *Dolphin* into Marblehead on October 25, 1777, fifty-five prizes were taken. These embraced thirteen ships, eighteen brigs, fourteen sloops and ten schooners. They varied in size from the four-hundred-ton merchant ship *Jenny*, taken by John Manley, down to the fifteen-ton fishing schooner carrying Tory pilots, which William Coit brought into Plymouth.

Eleven of these prizes, including Broughton's and Selman's seven ill-advised captures, had to be returned to the owners, largely because they were seized too early in the struggle. Most of them would have been legitimate prizes in the ensuing year, when Congress finally got around to waging war on more than just vessels supplying the British army and navy. Four more were recaptures, including that very first one, the *Unity*, and two more were retaken by the enemy before prizemasters could carry them into safe ports. British commerce, therefore, experienced a net loss of thirty-eight vessels at the hands of Washington's little cruisers.[8]

Numbers do not tell the whole story. Twenty-three prizes were taken in 1775, but the value and timeliness of three of them—the brig *Nancy*, with her ordnance stores; the ship *Concord*, with her shoes, stockings, linens and coals; and the brig *Little Hannah*, with her Geneva and rum—transcended all others in the importance of their cargoes to Washington's army. Their net proceeds exceeded 31,000 pounds.

Of the twenty-four captures made in 1776, the powder ship *Hope*, the four Scotch transports, and the supply brig *Lively* outweighed

the rest. The *Hope* and her cargo alone were valued at better than 54,000 pounds. Of John Skimmer's eight prizes in 1777, one was outstanding: the *Industrious Bee,* so staunch a brig that she was bought for the Continental navy.

Size, too, did not necessarily reflect true worth. The *Nelly Frigate,* taken by Tucker and Skimmer, was a ship of about three hundred tons burden, but her cargo of mahogany had nowhere near the value to Washington as the cloth and clothing these same two captains found on board the *Lively,* of half her tonnage.

John Manley, of course, was the outstanding captain for the time he was willing to confine his talents to Washington's navy. In that period he took ten prizes singlehanded, and participated in the capture of five more. John Skimmer, who came into the service just about the time Manley left it, ably carried on with eight prizes taken singly, and eight in conjunction with Samuel Tucker or others. Tucker and Daniel Waters shared about equal honors; each participated in the joint taking of nine prizes. Waters, however, had three to his individual credit, whereas Tucker had but two. James Mugford, who might have ranked high indeed on the list, unfortunately lost his life after taking the powder brig—the greatest prize of all.

Their accomplishments are remarkable when the lack of adequate direction is considered. Once he had created his navy, Washington largely delegated its operation; first, to Joseph Reed, and then to Stephen Moylan. Both had other duties, so that orders to the captains generally emanated from his Excellency's agents, who were more interested in prize commissions than in co-ordinating movements of the armed schooners. With departure of the main army from Boston, direction was left to the hypochondriac Artemus Ward, who relied more and more on the agents.

Despite these handicaps, Washington's navy was performing with considerable success when Congress made its first vague effort to control the armed vessels in New England waters by appointing John Bradford Continental agent. Had it supplied him at the same time with commission and instructions much confusion, recrimination and quarreling might have been avoided. By the time he had authority, prize matters were in a muddle, nor was he the type of man who had the tact or diplomacy to remedy them.

When Washington relinquished all control to the Marine Committee, that body treated the fleet as an orphan, knowing little or nothing about it, and continuing its direction under the opportunistic Bradford. Then, in a desperate effort to clear up bickerings and disorder, commissioners were appointed to settle prize disputes, and a lot of time and trouble it took to accomplish that end.

George Washington seldom viewed matters in retrospect. The navy of his creation had accomplished, amid provoking vicissitudes and tribulations, what he had intended it to do. Moreover, from the time of its inception until the fall of 1776, it was the only organized American naval force operating in New England waters. Would that his Excellency had been prone to reminisce. It would be interesting to know his final appraisal of the deeds of his "rascally privateersmen."

Postlude 1812

JOHN ADAMS, basking in the limelight at a dinner given by Peter Chardon Brooks in Boston on December 26, 1812, and reminising "with an old man's Garrulity," as he admitted, spoke thus:

A Captain John Manley in 1775 offered General Washington to go out and take him some Prizes. Washington dreading the responsibility and doubting his authority wrote to Congress. Silas Deane made a motion to commit the Letter. I seconded the motion. But oh! the debate, the opposition. the Terror of taking the Bull by the horns. However, in Spight of all the learning Eloquence and Pathos of Opposition we carried a vote of commitment by a Majority, though very small. The Committee was Silas Deans, John Langdon and John Adams. We met and unanimously, in an instant, agreed and reported a Resolution authorizing Washington to fit out a Vessel. But oh! the opposition! Oh the tedious debate! At last We carried it, by a Majority of one or two. Manley was fitted out and took Transports with Soldiers, Cloathing Arms, Ammunition and the noble Mortar which was called the Congress and drove the British Army from Boston, and Navy from its Harbour.

This same tale, with embellishments, he repeated in numerous letters. Is it any wonder there has been bewilderment in the minds of those who later sought to unravel the beginnings of the American navy?

Appendix A

Shortly after the British evacuated Boston in March, 1776, a "rousing" recruiting song in honor of John Manley was published in Salem. His name, as usual, was spelled without the "e." The song was issued as a broadside, with a woodcut purported to be of the "Commodore" himself, and bore a bottom imprint: "Salem, Printed and Sold by E. Russell in Upper Main Street."

MANLY

A Favorite New

SONG

In the AMERICAN FLEET

Most humbly Addressed to all the JOLLY TARS who are fighting for the RIGHTS and LIBERTIES of AMERICA.

By a SAILOR.—It may be sung to the Tune of WASHINGTON.

BRAVE MANLY he is stout, and his Men have proved true,
By taking of those English Ships, he makes their Jacks to rue;
To our Ports he sends their Ships and Men, let's give a hearty Cheer
To Him and all those valiant Souls who go in Privateers.
And a Privateering we will go, my Boys, my Boys,
And a Privateering we will go.

O all ye gallant Sailor Lads, don't ever be dismay'd,
Nor let your Foes in Battle ne'er think you are afraid,
Those dastard Sons shall tremble when our Cannon they do roar,
We'll take, or sink, or burn them all, of them we'll drive on Shore.
And a Privateering we will go, &c.

Our Heroes they're not daunted when Cannon Balls do fly,
For we're resolved to conquer, or bravely we will die;
Then rouse all you New-England Oaks, give MANLY now a Cheer,
Likewise those Sons of Thunder who go in Privateers.
And a Privateering we will go, &c.

Their little petty Pirates our Coast shall ne'er infest,
We'll catch their sturdy Ships, Boys, for those we do like best;
Then enter now my hearty Lads, the War is just begun,
To make our Fortunes at their Cost, we'll take them as they run.
And a Privateering we will go, &c.

While *Shuldham* he is flying from WASHINGTON's strong Lines,
Their Troops and Sailors run for fear, and leave their Stores behind;
Then rouse up, all our Heroes, give MANLY now a Cheer,
Here's a Health to hardy Sons of Mars who go in Privateers.
And a Privateering we will go, &c.

They talk of Sixty Ships, Lads, to scourge our free-born Land,
If they send out Six Hundred we'll bravely them withstand;
Resolve we thus to conquer, Boys, or bravely we will die,
In fighting for our Wives and Babes, as well as LIBERTY.
And a Privateering we will go, &c.

While HOPKINS he is trimming them upon the Southern Shore,
We'll scour our Northern Coast, Boys, as soon as they come o'er,
Then rouse up, all my Hearties, give Sailor Lads a Cheer,
Brave MANLY, HOPKINS, and those Tars who go in Privateers.
And a Privateering we will go, &c.

I pray you Landsmen enter, you'll find such charming Fun,
When to our Ports by Dozens their largest Ships they come;
Then make your Fortune now, my Lads, before it is too late,
Defend, defend, I say defend an INDEPENDENT STATE.
And a Privateering we will go, &c.

While the Surf it is tossing and Cannon Balls do fly,
We surely will our Foes subdue, or cheerfully will die,
Then rouse, all you bold Seamen, brave MANLY's Commodore,
Should we meet with our desp'rate Foes, bless us, they will be tore.
And a Privateering we will go, &c.

Then cheer up, all my hearty Souls, to Glory let us run,
When Cannon Balls do rattle, with sounding of the Drum:
For who would Cowards prove, or even stoop to Fear,
When MANLY he commands us in our bold Privateer.
And a Privateering we will go, &c.

APPENDIX B

Prizes Taken by Vessels of Washington's Navy

No.	Date sent in 1775	Date taken	By whom	Name of Prize	Rig	Master	Tonnage
1	Sept. 7.	Sept. 7	*Hannah* (Broughton)	*Unity*	Ship	—— Flagg	260
2	Nov. 6	Nov. 5	*Harrison* (Coit)	*Polly* (1)	Sloop	Sibeline White	75
3	Nov. 6	Nov. 5	*Harrison* (Coit)	*Industry* (1)	Schooner	Charles Coffin	85
4	Nov. 7	Oct. 29	*Hancock* (Broughton) *Franklin* (Selman)	*Prince William*	Schooner	William Standly	—
5	Nov. 7	Oct. 29	*Hancock* (Broughton) *Franklin* (Selman)	*Mary*	Schooner	Thomas Russell	—
6	Nov. 7	Nov. 6	*Warren* (Adams)	———	Sloop	———	—
7	Nov. 7	Nov. 7	*Lee* (Manley)	*Ranger*	Sloop	Wm. McGlathry	—
8	Nov. 8	Nov. 8	*Lee* (Manley)	*Two Sisters*	Schooner	Robert Robbins	80
9	Nov. 8	Oct. 31	*Hancock* (Broughton) *Franklin* (Selman)	*Phoebe*	Sloop	James Hawkins	—
10	Nov. 10	Nov. 10	*Lee* (Manley)	———	Schooner	———	40
11	Nov. 20	Nov. 13	*Hancock* (Broughton) *Franklin* (Selman)	*Speedwell*	Sloop	James Corey	—
12	Nov. 25	Nov. 5	*Hancock* (Broughton) *Franklin* (Selman)	*Warren*	Sloop	John Denny	—
13	Nov. 25	Nov. 25	*Warren* (Adams)	*Rainbow* (1)	Schooner	John McMonagle	45
14	Nov. 27	Nov. 27	*Washington* (Martindale)	*Britannia*	Sloop	Joseph Hall	80

APPENDIX B: Prizes Taken by Vessels of Washington's Navy (*cont.*)

No.	Cargo	Out of	Bound for	Libel Date	Trial Date	Sale Date	Remarks
1	Fish, beef, lumber	Piscataqua	West Indies	———	———	———	A recapture; returned to owners, Sept. 10, for salvage.
				1776	1776		
2	Provisions, live stock	Nova Scotia	Boston	March 25	April 15	———	
3	Provisions, live stock	Nova Scotia	Boston	March 25	April 15	———	
4	Fish & oil	Nova Scotia	———	———	———	———	Released to owners, Dec. 19; not proper prizes.
5	Fish & oil	Nova Scotia	———	———	———	———	
6	Wood	———	———	———	———	———	Released to owners, Nov. 26; not a proper prize.
7	Firewood	Piscataqua	Salem	———	———	———	A recapture; returned to owners, Nov. 27, for salvage.
8	Provisions	Ireland	Boston	February 26	April 17	———	Claimed jointly, by residents of Beverly
9	Fish & oil	Nova Scotia	———	———	———	———	Released to owners, Dec. 2; not a proper prize.
10	Lumber	———	Newburyport	———	———	———	Released to owners, Nov. 11; not a proper prize.
11	Drygoods	England	Canada	———	———	———	Released to owners, Dec. 4; not a proper prize
12	———	Gaspe	Nantucket	———	———	———	Released to owners, Jan. 20, 1776; not a proper prize.
13	Potatoes & turnips	Nova Scotia	Boston				
14	Wood & hay	Nova Scotia	Boston	March 25	April 15		Claimed jointly by some residents of Beverly.

APPENDIX B: Prizes Taken by Vessels of Washington's Navy (*cont.*)

No.	Date sent in 1775	Date taken	By whom	Name of Prize	Rig	Master	Tonnage
15	Nov. 28	Nov. 28	*Lee* (Manley)	*Polly* (2)	Sloop	S. Smith	80
16	Nov. 29	Nov. 28	*Lee* (Manley)	*Nancy*	Brig	Robert Hunter	250
17	Dec. 1	Nov. 20	*Hancock* (Broughton) *Franklin* (Selman)	———	Schooner	—— Higgins	170
18	Dec. 1	Nov. 26	*Hancock* (Broughton) *Franklin* (Selman)	*Kingston Packet*	Brig	Samuel Ingersall	—
19	Dec. 1	Nov. 29	*Harrison* (Coit)	*Thomas*	Schooner	———	—
20	Dec. 7	Nov. 29	*Harrison* (Coit)	———	Fishing Schooner	Jeremiah Downey	15
21	Dec. 3	Dec. 3	*Lee* (Manley)	*Concord*	Ship	James Lowrie	800
22	Dec. 9	Dec. 8	*Lee* (Manley)	*Jenny*	Ship	William Foster	400
23	Dec. 9	Dec. 8	*Lee* (Manley)	*Little Hannah*	Brig	Robert Adams	140
24	Dec. 18	Dec. 17	*Lee* (Manley)	*Betsey* (1)	Sloop	John Atkinson	60
25	Dec. 25	Dec. 24	*Warren* (Adams)	*Sally* (1)	Sloop	John Van Emburgh	70
	1776						
26	Jan. 25	Jan. 25	*Hancock* (Manley)	*Happy Return*	Ship	James Hall	130
27	Jan. 25	Jan. 25	*Hancock* (Manley)	*Norfolk*	Ship	Jonathan Grendall	120
28	Jan. 30	Jan. 29	*Franklin* (Tucker) *Lee* (Waters)	*Rainbow* (2)	Sloop	Samuel Perkins	60
29	Jan. 30	Jan. 29	*Franklin* (Tucker) *Lee* (Waters)	*Henry and Esther*	Brig	—— Nellis	300
30	March 6	March 6	*Hancock* (Manley) *Franklin* (Tucker)	*Susannah*	Ship	John Frazer	300
31	March 10	March 10	*Lee* (Waters) *Lynch* (Ayres)	*Stakesby*	Ship	James Watts	300

APPENDIX B: Prizes Taken by Vessels of Washington's Navy (*cont.*)

No.	Cargo	Out of	Bound for	Libel Date	Trial Date	Sale Date	Remarks
15	Turnips	Nova Scotia	Boston	February 26	April 18	May 25	
16	Ordnance stores	London	Boston	February 26	April 18	May 25	
17	Drygoods & butter	England	Charlottetown	———	———	———	Released to owner, Dec. 14; not a proper prize.
18	Dried fish	Barrington, N. S.	West Indies	———	———	———	
19	Wine	Fayal	Salem	———	———	———	Released to owner, Dec. 5; not a proper prize.
20	Ballast	Boston	———	March 25	April 15		Carrying pilots to Boston-bound transports
21	Drygoods & coal	Greenock	Boston	February 26	April 18	May 25	
22	Coal, porter & provis.	London	Boston	February 26	April 16	May 25	
23	Rum	Antigua	Boston	February 26	April 16	May 25	Purchased for Secret Committee of Congress and renamed *Dispatch*.
24	Indian corn & oats	Norfolk	Boston	February 26	April 17	May 25	
25	Wine	Lisbon	New York	February 26	April 17	May 25	A recapture from H. M. S. *Niger*.
26	Coal & provisions	Whitehaven	Boston	March 25	April 15		
27	Coal & provisions	Whitehaven	Boston	March 25	April 15		
28	Wood & provisions	Damariscotta	Boston	———	———	———	Released in mistake, Jan. 31, by Gloucester Com. of Safety.
29	wood & soldiers bedding	Nova Scotia	Boston	February 26	March 28	June 20	
30	Coal, cheese, porter	London	Boston				
31	Provisions	London	Boston			June 20	Vessel lost on rocks off Gloucester Harbor; salvaged goods sold.

APPENDIX B: Prizes Taken by Vessels of Washington's Navy (*cont.*)

No.	Date sent in 1775	Date taken	By whom	Name of Prize	Rig	Master	Tonnage
32	April 3	April 2	*Hancock* (Manley) *Lee* (Waters) *Lynch* (Ayres)	*Elizabeth* (1)	Brig	Peter Ramsey	
33	May 7	May 7	*Hancock* (Tucker)	*Jane*	Brig	James Fulton	120
34	May 7	May 7	*Hancock* (Tucker)	*William*	Brig	Richard Price	100
35	May 17	May 17	*Franklin* (Mugford)	*Hope*	Ship	Alexander Lansdale	280
36	June 7	June 6	*Lee* (Waters) *Warren* (Burke) *Lynch* (Ayres)	*Anne*	Ship	John Denniston	223
37	June 16	June 16	*Hancock* (Tucker) *Lee* (Waters)	*George*	Ship	Archibald Bog	220
38	June 16	June 16	*Warren* (Burke) *Lynch* (Ayres)	*Annabelle*	Brig	Hugh Walter	180
39	June 20	June 18	*Franklin* (Skimmer)	*Lord Howe*	Ship	Robert Park	200
40	July 28	July 27	*Hancock* (Tucker) *Franklin* (Skimmer)	*Peggy*	Ship	James Kennedy	240
41	Aug. 15	Aug. 4	*Hancock* (Tucker) *Franklin* (Skimmer)	*Perkins*	Brig	William Jenkins	140
42	Aug. 20	Aug. 6	*Hancock* (Tucker) *Franklin* (Skimmer)	*Nelly Frigate*	Ship	Lyonel Bradstreet	305
43	Sept. 4	Sept. 2	*Lee* (Waters)	*Betsy* (2)	Sloop		60
44	Oct. 5	October 3	*Lee* (Waters)	*Sally* (2)	Schooner	Jesse Noble	90
45	Nov. 7	——	*Lee* (Waters)	*Elizabeth* (2)	Brig	Thomas Edwards	130
46	Nov. 7	——	*Hancock* (Tucker) *Franklin* (Skimmer)	*Triton*	Brig	Thomas Brinton	130

APPENDIX B: Prizes Taken by Vessels of Washington's Navy (*cont.*)

No.	Cargo	Out of	Bound for	Libel Date	Trial Date	Sale Date	Remarks
32	Tory goods	Boston	Halifax		Aug. 22		Acquittal reversed by Congress, October 14.
33	Provisions	Cork	Boston	May 20	June 4	July 4	
34	Wines & fruits	Fayal	Boston	May 20	June 4	July 18	
35	Powder & guns	Cork	Boston	June 6	June 21	July 18	
36	Transport with Highland troops	Greenock	Boston	July 4	July 23	Aug. 29	
37	Transports	Greenock	Boston	July 4	July 23	Nov. 26	Taken in company with Connecticut Brig *Defence*.
38	with Highland	Greenock	Boston	July 4	July 23	Aug. 21	
39	Troops	Greenock	Boston	July 4	July 23	Nov. 8	
40	Provisions & Tory goods	Nova Scotia	New York	Aug. 15	Sept. 5	Summer 1782	Appeal taken to Congress, not decided for seven years.
41	Deerskins & indigo	St. Augustine	Bristol, Eng.	Aug. 29	Sept. 17		
42	Mahogany	Honduras	London				
43	Cordwood	———	Halifax	Sept. 26	Oct. 15	Nov. 4	A recapture from H. M. S. *Milford*
44	Fish & lumber	Halifax	New York	Oct. 24	Nov. 19	Nov. 29 1777	
45	Lumber	Halifax	Jamaica	Nov. 28	Dec. 17	Jan. 8	
46	Fish	Newfoundland	Mediterranean	Nov. 28	Dec. 17	Jan. 8	

APPENDIX B: Prizes Taken by Vessels of Washington's Navy (*cont.*)

No.	Date sent in 1775	Date taken	By whom	Name of Prize	Rig	Master	Tonnage
47	Nov. 13	Oct. 29	*Hancock* (Tucker) *Franklin* (Skimmer)	*Lively* (1)	Brig	Nicholas Martindale	150
	1777						
48	April 20	April 13	*Lee* (Skimmer)	*Hawke*	Schooner	Daniel Collins	70
49	May 17	May 3	" "	*Betsey* (3)	Sloop	Nathaniel Horrick	50
50	——	May 11	" "	*Charles*	Brig	Jeffrey Tapley	—
51	June 10	May 31	" "	*Capelin*	Brig	John Coulrick	110
52	June 10	May 31	" "	*Industry* (2)	Brig	John Browne	80
53	Sept. 23	Aug. 29	" "	*Industrious Bee*	Brig	John Biddecombe	160
54	——	Aug. 30	" "	*Lively* (2)	Brig	John Carter	—
55	Oct. 26	Oct. 1	" "	*Dolphin*	Brig	John Shield	120

Recapitulation

Vessels	1775	1776	1777	Total
Ships	3	10	—	13
Brigs	3	9	6	18
Sloops	9	4	1	14
Schooners	8	1	1	10
Totals	23	24	8	55

APPENDIX B: Prizes Taken by Vessels of Washington's Navy (*cont.*)

No.	Cargo	Out of	Bound for	Libel Date	Trial Date	Sale Date	Remarks
47	Drygoods & clothing	Aire, Scotland	New York	Nov. 28	Dec. 17	March 11	Purchased for the Secret Committee of Congress and renamed the *Robert.*
48	Fish & oil	Canso, N. S.	Barbadoes	May 8	May 29	June 3	
49	Fish & salt	London	Newfoundland	June 5	June 24	July 3	
50	Fish	Waterford	Newfoundland	———	———	———	Retaken, May 23, by H. M. S. *Mermaid.*
51	Fish & salt	Jersey	Newfoundland	Aug. 7	Aug. 21	Aug. 22	
52	Fish & salt	Jersey	Newfoundland	Aug. 7	Aug. 21	Aug. 22	
53	Salt	Gibraltar	Newfoundland	Oct. 9	Oct. 28	Dec. 19	Purchased by Marine Committee order and renamed *General Gates.*
54	Rice & staves	Bristol, Eng.	Halifax	———	———	———	Retaken, Sept. 27, by H. M. S. *Diamond.*
55	Rum & sugar	Barbadoes	Newfoundland	Nov. 6	Nov. 27	Dec. 19	

		Total
Carried forward		55
Released	11	
Recaptured	4	
Retaken by enemy	2	17
Net gain		38

Some Comments on Sources

This is not a bibliography. The notes supply the sources utilized, so it is unnecessary to duplicate them here. My aim is to outline the principal sources consulted. Naturally, the writings of George Washington and the letters addressed to him form the main well from which I have drawn. Yet there is much useful collateral material hitherto eluding historians and biographers, or misinterpreted by them. Even Washington's own words have been misconstrued by writers delving into the perplexities of his New England navy.

Published Correspondence, Biography and Other Writings

Washington's own letters have been printed (some of them many times), but the most comprehensive compilations have been three in number, namely: Jared Sparks (ed.), *Life and Writings of George Washington,* 12 vols. (New York, 1834-37); Worthington Chauncey Ford (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington,* 14 vols. (New York, 1889-93); and John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources,* 39 vols. (Washington, 1932-44). The Sparks edition suffers from the editing and emasculating for which its author was notorious. The usual competent job of an excellent American compiler is evident in Ford's fourteen volumes, which suffer only from incompleteness. To Fitzpatrick can be attributed the most exhaustive and complete collection of Washington's letters, published as part of the bicentennial celebration of his birth. It contains every known letter written by Washington, as complete a collection, probably, as ever will be assembled. It is lacking, however, in adequate footnotes, so necessary to explain the text—a failing which compilers of the writings of other celebrated Americans have recognized and are overcoming.

Letters to Washington have not had the comprehensive publication his out-letters have had; in fact, there has been only one attempt to edit them, and this, very limited in scope, was essayed more than a century ago: Jared Sparks (ed.), *Correspondence of the American Revolution being Letters of Eminent Men to George Washington,* 4 vols. (Boston, 1853). Like his twelve volumes of Washington's letters, it is incomplete

and overedited. It contains little or nothing pertaining to Washington's navy.

Washington's correspondence—in- and out-letters—for the period of his operations around Boston and to the conclusion of the year 1776 is largely printed in that monumental work, Peter Force (comp.), *American Archives*, Fourth Series, 6 vols., Fifth Series, 3 vols. (Washington, 1837-53). This work, preceding as it did the advent of the typewriter and linotype, is a tremendous tribute to the compiler. It contains, for the period from March 7, 1774, to December 31, 1776, about everything that then reposed in the Library of Congress, either in original or transcript. Unfortunately, it was published in an era when editors took liberties with manuscripts, correcting, amending, punctuating, or omitting as they saw fit. Peter Force was less addicted to this evil than his contemporary, Jared Sparks, but he was a stickler for grammatic purity and proper orthography. Extensive use has been made of this work, as nowhere else has there been gathered under one (or rather nine) covers the tremendous amount of material relating to that period. When the letter writers speak with uncapitalized words, proper spelling and full punctuation, it can be attributed to the care with which Peter Force dotted their "i's" and crossed their "t's."

Other printed compilations to which reference should be made include the *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-89*, 34 vols. (Washington, 1904-37), Worthington Chauncey Ford (ed.), 1774-79, Gaillard Hunt (ed.), 1780-83, John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), 1784-86, and Roscoe R. Hill (ed.), 1787-89. These volumes provide the legislative background without which it would be impossible adequately to trace the course of the naval war. They also contain many reports and communications, taken from the various volumes of the Papers of the Continental Congress, all of which clarify the actions of that very deliberate deliberating body.

The British naval story for the period when Admiral Shuldham succeeded Admiral Graves in North America is contained in Robert Wilden Neeser (ed.), *The Despatches of Molyneux Shuldham, Vice Admiral of the Blue and Commander-in-Chief of His Britannic Majesty's Ships in North America*, January-July, 1776, Naval History Society Publication (New York, 1913). There are many enclosures, some of which, along with Shuldham's own letters, throw some light on the activities of the American armed schooners.

Another helpful collection of letters is Worthington Chauncey Ford (comp.), *Warren-Adams Letters Being Chiefly a Correspondence among John Adams, Samuel Adams and James Warren*, Massachusetts Historical Society Publication, 2 vols. (Boston, 1917, 1925). The letters from James

Warren covering the period 1775 and 1776 are, at times, helpful, and several epistles from John Adams relate to that naval "genius," John Macpherson.

For a volume which extracts all the naval material from Force, *American Archives*, there is Henry E. Waite (comp.), *Extracts Relating to the Origin of the American Navy* (Boston, 1890). It is chiefly of interest, however, because Waite was the first to dig out of the columns of the Salem *Gazette* for July 22, 1856, the long letter from John Selman to Elbridge Gerry, written May 18, 1813, giving that officer's version of the expedition towards the St. Lawrence.

Discounting Mason Weems and his fables, there have been five serious biographies of George Washington, beginning with John Marshall, *The Life of George Washington*, 5 vols. (London, 1804), and concluding with the unfinished masterpiece of Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington*, 6 vols. (New York, 1948-54). These contribute but little to the story of Washington's naval activities in New England. Freeman, from whom much might be expected, is most disappointing. His third and fourth volumes, covering the war period to the end of April, 1778, disclose an inability (all too present in historians and biographers) to evaluate naval warfare, or even to fully understand it. Freeman states that Washington appointed Broughton as a captain in the army to command the *Hannah* (III, 530), whereas that mariner had been commissioned in the Marblehead regiment on May 19, 1775, more than a month before Washington appeared in New England. He assumed that Manley, in taking the *Nancy*, captured one of the two munition vessels for Quebec, which Broughton had failed to intercept (III, 566). Had he consulted several of his own biographical sources, which he so fully lists, he would have found how preposterous was this assumption. His interpretation of Washington's refusal to give instructions to his agents in New England in the fall of 1776 creates the impression that until that time Washington had directed all naval operations. Freeman states (IV, 211), "He divested himself as far as he could, of responsibility for naval affairs," and a footnote adds, "It is to be regretted that Washington could not find time to continue his direction of naval affairs. His early acts showed clear understanding of seapower." Actually, to that time, Washington had directed only the operations of the five schooners outfitted at Beverly, and the schooner and brig at Plymouth, and had absolutely nothing to do with the Continental navy.

Biographies of two of Washington's naval captains have been printed, which are confusing rather than helpful: John H. Sheppard, *The Life of Samuel Tucker Commodore in the American Revolution* (Boston, 1868);

Robert E. Peabody, *The Naval Career of Captain John Manley*, Essex Institute Historical Collections (Salem, 1909); and Isaac J. Greenwood, *Captain John Manley, Second in Rank in the United States Navy, 1776-1783* (Boston, 1915). Sheppard's sources for the period when Tucker commanded the *Franklin* and the *Hancock* are Force, *American Archives*, a narrative of Daniel Weston of Bremen, an aged gentleman whose memory was most faulty, and a previously unpublished letter of Tucker's, of March 6, 1818. In this letter the captain's recollections are almost as faulty as Weston's. Peabody and Greenwood draw largely from the *American Archives*. Peabody makes the unsupported claim that John Glover suggested armed vessels to Washington. Greenwood confused Winborn Adams with Daniel Adams of Plymouth; calls the *Washington*, the *Lady Washington*; lists the *Nancy* as a ship, and the *Concord* as a sloop; calls John Skimmer, John Skinner, and executes a number of other inaccuracies.

General Historical Works

The general misconceptions regarding Washington's New England navy are quite evident in the two histories which relate in considerable detail to that period, namely, Gardner W. Allen, *A Naval History of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1913), and Allen French, *The First Year of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1934). Allen draws largely from the *American Archives*, Sheppard's *The Life of Samuel Tucker*, and Waite's *Extracts Relating to the Origin of the American Navy*, and, hence, has reperpetrated the errors contained in them. Even so, Allen has provided the best general narrative of naval operations in New England waters. French, on the other hand, while presenting a definitive account of Washington's military operations before Boston, has been woefully inadequate, inaccurate and uncertain about naval matters. He has relied upon Allen, Force, *American Archives*, and some other sources, but has contributed nothing new to Allen's account of Washington's navy.

Newspapers

The newspapers with their restrained news items and their advertisements of libels and sales, comprise a source not to be neglected. Their accuracy, considering the limited news gathering means of their day, is remarkable. For Washington's navy, they are invaluable. Of course, the principal newspaper sources were those published in Watertown, and later Boston: the Boston *Gazette and Country Journal*, 1775-77; the *New England Chronicle*, later the *Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser*, 1776-77; and the *Continental Journal*, 1776-77. Letters from

camp, or from Boston, found their way in 1775, 1776 and 1777 into other Continental newspapers, such as the *Connecticut Courant and Hartford Weekly Intelligencer*, the New York *Gazette and the Weekly Mercury*, and the four Philadelphia newspapers, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, the *Pennsylvania Journal and the Weekly Advertiser*, the *Pennsylvania Packet or the General Advertiser*, and the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*. British letters from America with bearing on Washington's navy were found in The London *Chronicle* and the London *General Advertiser*.

Manuscripts and Manuscript Collections

George Washington's papers in the Library of Congress and his letters to Congress in the Papers of the Continental Congress, reposing now in the National Archives, naturally form the solid foundation upon which the history of his navy can be built. With his letters to Congress are numerous enclosures, sometimes originals and sometimes copies of letters he had received. Such enclosures are, in the main, duplicated in the Washington Papers, either by copy or original. This latter collection also contains numerous letters that have never been published. Rather than refer to printed copies of letters to or from Washington, it has seemed best to cite the original source.

Another volume of the Papers of the Continental Congress, with the misleading title, "Prizes and Captures," contains a gold mine of hitherto untapped material. It includes the accounts of William Bartlett and William Watson, Washington's agents in Beverly and Plymouth, respectively. These comprise the outfitting and provisions of all six vessels in 1775 and for the first two months of 1776; rental agreements with the schooner owners, and appraisals; inventories of prizes and accounts against them; Ephraim Bowen's accounts in going to Rhode Island for cannon, and such individual items as Bartlett's and Jonathan Glover's agreement to pool their interests, and the details of how the schooner *Lynch* was outfitted in 1776, and not in 1775 as Washington believed. This collection also establishes that the *Hancock*, and not the *Lynch*, was the vessel Broughton commanded on the cruise to Nova Scotia.

William Bartlett's accounts from the time he became agent at Beverly until the prize commissioners settled with him in 1777, are in the Beverly Historical Society. They contain: duplicates of accounts to March 1, 1776, found in "Prizes & Captures"; additional accounts to June, 1776, for all the schooners; detailed accounts of sales of prizes and cargoes taken in 1775; court fees and decrees of condemnation against these prizes; charges against Broughton and Selman during the expedition to

the Island of St. John; numerous memoranda of charges against various schooners, captains, or prizes; final accounting to the United States in May, 1777; and distribution of commissions between Bartlett and Jonathan Glover in March, 1778.

John Glover's "Colony Ledger" is in the Marblehead Historical Society. It contains John Glover's accounts against the United Colonies for the hire of his schooner *Hannah*, and against William Bartlett, as agent, for "Sundrys for the Armd Vessels," from December 26, 1775, to June 5, 1776. Of particular interest are items which divulge tonnage, rate of hire, and duration of service for the *Hannah*.

John Bradford's Letter Books, in the Library of Congress, are in two volumes and cover the period from September 23, 1775, to April 24, 1782. It is a source to which historians have not found their way. The letter book is absolutely essential in following the wrangles of agents and the final liquidation of accounts against the armed schooners.

Listed as Robert Morris Papers, Accession 1805, in the Library of Congress, is a miscellaneous collection of letters to Robert Morris, a number of which bear directly on Washington's navy. Included in these are letters from John Bradford, which fill in the gaps in the latter's letter books.

From the British side there is a volume in the British Museum, with a copy in the Gay Transcripts of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is entitled, "The Conduct of Vice Admiral Samuel Graves in North America in 1774, and 1775, and January 1776." It provided a day-by-day narrative of British naval operations as seen from the deck of the station ship in Boston harbor, with copies of all the Admiral's letters to the British Admiralty as well as an appendix of numerous letters from and to him. Although Graves wrote it in defense of his conduct in American waters and wanted to lay it "before the Publick," it has never been published. It is to be regretted that it has not been printed, as it is a valuable contribution to the early period of the American Revolution.

The British Admiralty Papers in the Public Records Office, London, compliment Graves and Shuldham in providing manuscripts relating to naval operations in American waters. These have been used liberally, and include the manuscript journal of the French surgeon of the brig *Washington*, a captured document, which has reposed unconsulted in the archives ever since. It also includes captains' logs, masters' logs and muster rolls of a number of the British war vessels which operated in New England waters during the years 1775 and 1776, and much additional data regarding the captured brig *Washington*, including her roster.

Notes

Chapter I

[1] Washington's hope to capture an ordnance ship was expressed in a letter to the president of Congress, October 12, 1775, now in the Papers of the Continental Congress, volume 152, in the National Archives, Washington. All future quotations from or reference to his letters are taken from the same source, or the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress. Similarly, letters to Washington have the same sources, and will not be further identified. John Glover's "Colony Ledger" in the Marblehead Historical Society provides most of the information about the *Hannah*. Broughton memorialized Congress in 1781, reciting his services in the *Hannah*, and Glover supplied an endorsement to this memorial which is in the Papers of the Continental Congress, volume 41.

[2] John Glover and John Manley each have been advanced as suggesting armed vessels to Washington. The credit to Glover is given in Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (New York, 1912), III, 175, but with nothing to substantiate it. John Adams, in his reminiscing years, was responsible for the claim that Manley made the suggestion. John Adams to John Langdon, January 24, 1813, cited by Worthington Chauncey Ford (ed.), *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1779* (Washington, 1904-1909), III, 277, footnote. Vincent J. Dowdell, Jr., in "The Birth of the American Navy," *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings* (November, 1955) tries to straddle the claims with the statement that the suggestion came from both Glover and Manley. A certain school of writers has claimed great inherent naval genius for Washington, whereas his letters in 1775 and the first half of 1776 clearly indicate he had not then grasped the full significance of seapower. The appreciation came out of the bitter experiences in the New York campaign in the fall of 1776. O'Brien's exploits are detailed in Andrew M. Sherman, *Life of Captain Jeremiah O'Brien* (Morristown, N. J., 1902). Washington's visit to the seacoast east of Boston is established in his expense account during the war. "Gen George Washington's Account with the United States From 1775 to 1783. Facsimile" (Brooklyn, 1833).

[3] Portledge is now an obsolete term. It embraces wages paid to a group of hands necessary actually to sail a vessel.

[4] Officers and men of the *Hannah* can be identified through the accounts

in a volume in the Papers of the Continental Congress identified as "Prizes and Captures," through the letters to Washington; in *The Records of Marblehead, Massachusetts, to the End of 1849* (Salem, 1903-1908); and in Washington's General Orders of September 22, 1775, in John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources* (Washington, 1932), III, 514, 515.

[5] "Marblehead Reminiscences," in the *Marblehead Register* in 1830, supplies the date the *Hannah*'s crew arrived at Marblehead, and Dr. Edward A. Holyoke's "Familiar Letters" in the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* (Salem, 1877), XIII, 211, provides his opinion of the crew.

[6] The rations allowed to the *Hannah* are in "Prizes and Captures."

[7] Broughton's personality may be appraised from the wording of his memorial to Congress in 1781. John Glover married Hannah Gale on October 30, 1754.

[8] Date of the sailing of the *Hannah* is established through an endorsement by Captain Richard Varick on Washington's orders to Broughton of September 2, 1775. The British war vessels which chased the *Hannah* on September 5, according to the narrative of Vice Admiral Samuel Graves in the British Museum, were H. M. S. *Lively*, of twenty guns, and the *Savage*, of eight guns.

[9] In addition to Broughton's letters to Washington, ownership and capture of the *Unity* are reported in the Boston *Gazette*, September 11, 1775.

[10] Accounts of the mutiny are contained in the Boston *Gazette*, September 18, 1775, and in the "Journal of Phineas Ingalls" in the Historical Collections of the Essex Institute, LIII, 87. A mutiny among the Pennsylvania Riflemen on September 10, 1775, was stressed by Allen French, *The First Year of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1934), 472, who missed entirely the mutiny of the *Hannah*'s crew, remarking that the subsequent court-martial of Joseph Searle and thirty-five others "may have been a sequel" to the riflemen's mutiny.

[11] Washington's aversion to his "rascally privateersmen' was first expressed in a letter to Joseph Reed on November 20, 1775; his orders that Broughton keep to sea were issued to John Glover on October 17, 1775.

[12] The story of the pursuit of the *Hannah* into Beverly and the subsequent pummeling of H. M. S. *Nautilus* can be gleaned from the captain's log of the *Nautilus*, British Admiralty, Class 51, 629, in the Public Records Office, London; Captain John Collins' letter to Graves, October 12, 1775, *ibid.*, Class I, No. 485; Boston *Gazette*, October 12, 1775; Edwin M. Stone, *History of Beverly, Civil and Ecclesiastical from its Settlement in 1630*

to 1842 (Boston, 1843), 64-66; and extracts from the diaries of William Wetmore and John White, in *Collections of Essex Institute*, XLIII, 117, 118, and XLVIII, 92. News that Broughton caught cold was contained in John Glover's letter of October 15, 1775, to Washington.

Chapter II

[1] Capture of the *Industry* and the *Dolphin* is described by James Warren on October 1 and 2, in Worthington Chauncey Ford (comp.), *Warren-Adams Letters* (Boston, 1925-27), I, 121-23; II, 420, 421. Washington's refusal to accept the terms proposed for them is covered in the Washington Papers, and in the Journal of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, Massachusetts, Archives, and printed in Peter Force (comp.), *American Archives*, Fourth Series, III, 1446.

[2] For the character of Stephen Moylan see Martin I. J. Griffin, *Stephen Moylan* (Philadelphia, 1909).

[3] The pleasing news of Washington's purpose to arm some vessels is contained in a letter from Cambridge, in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, Philadelphia, October 11, 1775.

[4] That Martindale charmed Washington into early, if not premature action is indicated by the date of his appointment to the *Eagle*, on October 9, 1775. The appointment was a captured document now in British Admiralty, Class I, 485. Nathanael Greene's order is contained in an orderly book in American Manuscripts, 611, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[5] Ephraim Bowen's journal was delivered to Washington when he returned from Rhode Island at the conclusion of his mission. Bowen does not explain why he "drove" his horse to Plymouth and Kingston and later speaks of having ridden there.

[6] The instructions from Congress of October 5, 1775, and the resultant orders to Glover and Moylan are in the Washington Papers.

[7] Selman's character can be deduced from his letter to Elbridge Gerry, March 18, 1813, published in the Salem *Gazette*, July 22, 1856, which describes the subsequent cruise.

[8] For the qualifications of John Manley, Winborn Adams and William Coit, see Isaac J. Greenwood, *Captain John Manley* (Boston, 1915); John Paul Jones to Joseph Hewes, January 12, 1777, Jones MSS, Library of Congress; John Scales, *Historical Memoranda Concerning Persons and Places in Old Dover* (Dover, 1900); Everett S. Stackpole and Winthrop S. Meserve, *History of the Town of Durham, New Hampshire* (Durham,

1913); *New Hampshire Archives* (Concord, 1885), XIV, 122, 124, 187, 188, 615; *Orderly Book of Capt. William Coits Company at the Seige of Boston with Biographical Sketch* (Hartford, 1899); and Washington's letter to Reed, November 8, 1775.

Chapter III

[1] Valuations of the *Speedwell* and the *Elizabeth* are in "Prizes and Captures," as is an abstract of money due to the owner of the *Elizabeth*.

[2] A return of artillery stores on board the armed vessels is in the Washington Papers; the various accounts for outfitting, in "Prizes and Captures."

[3] Valuations of the *Two Brothers* and the *Hawk* are in "Prizes and Captures."

[4] Reference to the *Hancock* as the *Speedwell* is contained in several bills in "Prizes and Captures" and in one or two letters of the period.

[5] Presentation of Selman's instructions were described by that gentleman more than thirty-five years later in his letter to Elbridge Gerry, Salem *Gazette*, July 22, 1856.

[6] Moylan's trials with the Beverly workmen are humorously described by him in his letters in the Washington Papers.

[7] These acknowledgments are in "Prizes and Captures."

Chapter IV

[1] Bowen's experiences in Plymouth are contained in his journal and in his several letters to headquarters.

[2] Charter Party of Schooner *Harrison* (*Triton*) and the bills of the suppliers are in "Prizes and Captures."

[3] There is no direct evidence that Martindale brought word to Bowen of Coit's appointment and of the naming of the *Harrison*. He, however, was the sole arrival from camp at that time, and a letter Reed wrote to Bowen on October 20, 1775, indicated that the latter knew of Coit's appointment by then. The name *Harrison* appears in the Charter Party of October 22, 1775.

[4] Appraisal of the brig *Washington* is in "Prizes and Captures," and the action of the Massachusetts authorities in taking over Erving's share in the schooner is stated in the Journal of the Massachusetts House of Representatives.

[5] Bowen's journal makes no mention of the fact that Martindale accompanied him to Rhode Island.

[6] Coit described his command in a letter to Samuel B. Webb, November 7, 1775, in J. Watson Webb, *Reminiscences of General Samuel B. Webb of the Revolutionary Army* (New York, 1882), 155, 156. Coit's historical references were to (a) William Fiennes, Lord Say and Sele, one of those who headed a Puritan company that settled at the mouth of the Connecticut River in 1635, and (b) Sir Edmond Andros, who, in 1687, suppressed the Connecticut Charter and dissolved the existing government. A further description of the *Harrison* is in "Intelligence Collected from the Captain of the Brig Washington," British Admiralty, Class I, 485.

[7] Details regarding the colors of the two vessels out of Plymouth are contained in "Prizes and Captures," and the description of the flag of the *Washington* was printed in the *Public Advertiser*, London, January 9, 1776. The efforts to get the *Harrison* to sea are in Bowen's journal.

[8] Simeon Potter's letter to Bowen is in "Prizes and Captures," as are the details of how Bowen got the cannon to Plymouth.

[9] Appraisal of the brig *Washington* is in "Prizes and Captures."

[10] "Extract of a Letter from Roxbury, November 10, 1775," in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, November 29, 1775, tells of Coit's prizes, and their inventories are in "Prizes and Captures."

Chapter V

[1] Dimensions of the *Hancock* and the *Franklin* are estimated on the basis of another sixty-ton schooner of that period, the *Chaleur*. *The Mariner*, quarterly publication of the New York Ship Modeling Society (New York, 1930), IV, 103.

[2] Certificates of John Devereaux and Edward Homan, November 11, 1775, are in the Bartlett Papers, Beverly Historical Society, as is "Capt Broughton's Account." Bartlett's accounts against the prize schooners *Mary* and *Prince William*, November 10, 1775, are in "Prizes and Captures."

[3] All details of the supplies removed from prizes are in the Bartlett Papers.

[4] Interrogation of the captains of the *Unity* and the *Clementina* is related in the London *Chronicle*, January 4-6, 1776, and February 6-8, 1776, and the removal of the pilots is told in Selman's letter of March, 1813.

[5] How Charlottetown was looted is described in a petition of Philip Callbeck to Washington of December 7, 1775, and in a letter from John

Budd to Lord Dartmouth, of November 25, 1775, Colonial Office, Prince Edward Island, 6, 251, 252, Public Records Office, and in Selman's letter.

[6] The conclusion of the cruise of Broughton and Selman is well documented in Marriot Arbuthnot to Samuel Graves, December 1, 1775, British Admiralty Class 1, 485; Francis Legge to Lord Dartmouth, in Beamish Murdock, *A History of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1866), II, 557, 558; Harold A. Innis (ed.), *Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1776-1800,* Champlain Society (Toronto, 1948), 106, and *New Hampshire Gazette,* December 5, 1775.

[7] Proclamation of Francis Legge, December 5, 1775, Force, *American Archives,* Fourth Series, IV, 195.

Chapter VI

[1] Manley's first cruise is described in the Washington Papers; "Advices received in England from America," Force, *American Archives,* Fourth Series, IV, 266; "Stephen Kemble's Journal," November 9, 1775, *New York Historical Society Collections* (New York, 1884), I, 62; Narrative of Samuel Graves, Gay Transcripts, Massachusetts Historical Society; the Boston *Gazette,* November 13, 1775; and a letter from Roxbury in the *Pennsylvania, Journal,* November 29, 1775.

[2] The agreement between Jonathan Glover and William Bartlett is in the Bartlett Papers, as are the receipts of John Devereaux and Edward Homan, on the arrival of their prizes.

[3] How Manley took the *Nancy* is described only in British sources, the most reliable being the London *Chronicle,* December 30–January 2, 1776. Lord Sandwich thought her loss was owing most probably to treachery of the master. *Historical Manuscripts Commission Report on the Manuscripts of Mrs. Stopfield-Sackville* (Hereford, Eng., 1910), II, 20. The libel against the sloop *Polly* is in the Boston *Gazette,* February 26, 1776, and the invoice of the *Nancy*'s stores in the Washington Papers.

[4] The initial efforts to protect the *Nancy* in Gloucester harbor are given in "Prizes and Captures," and in the *Essex Gazette,* Cambridge, December 7, 1775.

[5] Letters found on board the *Concord* were also referred to in the London *Chronicle,* January 20-22, 1776.

[6] Extracts of letters from Boston printed in the London *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser,* January 17 and February 13, 1776, and the London *Chronicle,* January 23-25, 1776, were generally critical of Graves: from

his own narrative and General Howe's correspondence, it seems evident that neither had the initiative to make a serious effort to retake the *Nancy*.

Chapter VII

[1] John Adams' eulogy of Macpherson is in the *Warren-Adams Letters*, I, 156; Hancock's letter forwarded with that gentleman is in the Hancock Letter Book, National Archives.

[2] Washington's letter does not identify the "blundering lieutenant," but his identity is established by other letters in the Washington Papers.

[3] French, *The First Year of the American Revolution*, 497, referring to this statement by Washington, says of the mutinous spirit of the men, "the tale is not so bad as that." French, however, was unaware of the original mutiny on board the *Hannah*.

[4] Arrival of the prizemaster of the *Warren* from Stonington is itemized in John Glover's "Colony Ledger."

[5] The tedious record of the Massachusetts General Court in providing an adequate admiralty court crawls through its journals through October and into early November.

[6] Various accounts for guarding and unloading the *Nancy* are in "Prizes and Captures." Information as to the militia companies called to Gloucester will be found in *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the Revolution* (17 vols., Boston, 1896-1908). Sale of the ship *Concord* and her cargo is recorded in the Bartlett Papers.

Chapter VIII

[1] Description of the christening of the "Congress" is contained in a letter from Stephen Moylan to Joseph Reed, December 5, 1775. William B. Reed, *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed* (Philadelphia, 1847), I, 133, 134. The *Essex Gazette* of December 7, 1775, adds further details as does a letter from John Spencer of December 3, 1775, in Greenwood, *Captain John Manley*, 25.

[2] Callbeck wrote to the Salem Committee of Safety regarding his goods, according to a letter in the Pickering MS, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[3] The story of the reception of Broughton and Selman by Washington is based upon Selman's recollections of the event.

[4] "A Memorandum of the Debts Contracted Against the Armed Vessels fitted out at the Expence of the United Colonies and their Prizes" is in the Bartlett Papers.

Chapter IX

[1] Manvide's journal, beginning November 8, 1775, is in the British Admiralty, Class I, 485, having been found on board the *Washington* when she was captured subsequently; along with the journal were several letters from the surgeon's wife, a French Canadian.

[2] Howe's letter to Dartmouth of November 27, 1775, is in Force, *American Archives*, Fourth Series, III, 1678, 1679.

[3] Coit's exploit is well documented in "Advices from Cambridge of the 11th [December]," in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, December 21, 1775; in Graves's narrative; in the captain's logs of H. M. S. *Phoenix* and *Raven*, British Admiralty, Class 51, 693 and 771; and in "A Letter from Boston," undated, in *Lloyd's Evening Post and British Chronicle*, January 1-3, 1776.

[4] Diary of Ezekiel Price, November 26, 27, 1775, *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* (Boston, 1864), VII, 216; Boston *Gazette*, December 4, 1775; libel against sloop *Britannia*, *ibid.*, March 25, 1775.

[5] Libel against "a small fishing schooner, burthen about 15 tons, commanded by one Dawrey," Boston *Gazette*, March 25, 1775.

[6] "Extract of a Letter from Portsmouth [England]," January 21, 1776, in the London *Chronicle*, January 25-27, 1776.

[7] Captain's log, H. M. S. *Fowey*, December 4, 5, 1775, British Admiralty, Class 51, 375; Diary of Ezekiel Price, December 14, 1775.

[8] Narrative of Samuel Graves; Captains' and Carpenters' Reports of surveys upon the *Washington*, British Admiralty, Class 1, 485; and "A List of Vessels Remaining in Boston Harbour after the Enemy Evacuated the Town, &c.," Force, *American Archives*, Fourth Series, V, 936.

[9] "Supernumeries borne for Victuals only being Prisoners taken on Board the Washington rebel Privateer," British Admiralty, Class 36, 7506. *Life and Remarkable Adventures of Israel R. Potter, of Cranston, Rhode Island, &c.* (Providence, 1824), 5, 18, 19.

[10] The London *Chronicle*, January 9-11, 1776; *Public Advertiser*, London, February 6, 1776; and Hugh Palliser to Lord Sandwich, January 6, 1776, in G. R. Barnes and J. H. Owens (eds.), *The Private Papers of John, Earl of Sandwich*, Navy Records Society Publication (London, 1932), I, 96, 97.

[11] George Germain to William Howe, February 1, 1776, James Phinney Baxter (ed.), *Documentary History of the State of Maine* (Portland, 1910), XIV, 330, 331; *Public Advertiser*, London, March 15, 1776. Another interesting account of a seaman from the *Washington* who was forced

into the British navy is contained in a letter of February 19, 1779, from John Walkar to Benjamin Franklin. It is in the Franklin Papers, XIII, 132, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

Chapter X

[1] Both captures are recorded in the Boston *Gazette*, December 11, 1775. They are also described by Philip Callbeck to Admiral Molyneux Shuldham in a letter of January 10, 1776, in Robert Wilden Neeser (ed.), *The Despatches of Molyneux Shuldham*, Naval History Society Publication (New York, 1913), 69-73.

[2] Accounts of the cargoes of the *Jenny* and the *Little Hannah* are in the Bartlett Papers. The quip regarding the liquor on board the latter is in a letter from Cambridge in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, December 25, 1775.

[3] A detailed analysis of the Congressional resolves is contained in William Bell Clark, "American Naval Policy, 1775-1776," *The American Neptune* (Boston, 1941), I 26-41.

[4] Letter to Joseph Reed, January 2, 1776, in *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed*, I, 137-43.

[5] All of the intercepted letters were printed in Force, *American Archives*, Fourth Series, IV, 316-52. Washington's recommendation that Dunmore be driven out of Norfolk called for a "vigorous exertion," which was not, however, within the capabilities of the commodore of the first Continental fleet.

[6] "Extract of a letter from Beverly, December 18, 1775, Force, *American Archives*, Fourth Series, IV, 313, 314.

[7] *Essex Journal*, Cambridge, December 28, 1775.

[8] The libel against the *Sally* was printed in the Boston *Gazette*, February 26, 1776. The account of the sale of sloop and cargo is in the Bartlett Papers.

[9] Stephen Moylan to Joseph Reed, January 2, 1776.

[10] Graves's lament is in his narrative, and Shuldham's concern over the expanding American naval effort will be found in his dispatches, as well as in a private letter of January 13, 1776, to Lord Sandwich. This letter is in Barnes and Owens (eds.), *The Private Papers of John, Earl of Sandwich*, II, 104.

Chapter XI

[1] Portledge bills in the Bartlett Papers conclude January 3, 1776, indicating that master, mate and three seamen were maintained on board only to the end of the year. The three resolutions, reaching Washington on January 2, 1776, had been passed in Congress on December 20, 1775.

[2] Announcement of appointment of judges for the three admiralty districts of Massachusetts was made in the *Essex Gazette*, December 28, 1775. The new officers for the schooners were listed on February 1, 1776, and the appointments of Burke and Tucker can also be established by the former's memorial to Congress, April 30, 1778, and in John H. Shepperd, *The Life of Samuel Tucker* (Boston, 1868), a much garbled biography.

[3] "Manly, advance pay, 1st. Jany. 1776" is in the Washington Papers, while "A List of the Schooner Warren's Men" as of about February 1, 1776, is in "Prizes and Captures."

[4] The form of this commission was approved in Congress on December 2, 1775. The quotation is from the earliest of these commissions known to have survived, that of Abraham Whipple, December 8, 1775, in the Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library.

[5] This draft is from the commission issued to William Burke on February 1, 1776.

[6] Manley's requisition for supplies is in the Bartlett Papers. The appraisal of Tucker was by John Bradford, soon to be appointed a Continental agent, and is in the Bradford Letter Book, in the Library of Congress. The endorsement of Mugford was by the Marblehead Committee of Safety, and is in the Pickering MS, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[7] Contained in Admiral Graves's narrative.

[8] Outfitting of the *Lynch* described in "Prizes and Captures" definitely proves that she was not one of the original schooners. How the name was given in mistake to the *Franklin* by Joseph Reed in his listing of the fleet the previous October, is one of those lapses for which the solution is missing.

Chapter XII

[1] The frigate which chased Manley was H. M. S. *Nautilus*. Weather conditions are supplied by the captains' logs of H. M. S. *Fowey*, and

H. M. S. *Renown*. The latter log is in British Admiralty, Class 51, 1776, and it also indicates ignorance of Manley's exploit off the mouth of Boston harbor.

[2] Manley's double capture is described in the Boston *Gazette*, February 5 and March 25, 1776; an "Extract of a letter from Cambridge," of January 28, 1776, in the New York *Gazette and Weekly Mercury* of February 12, 1776; "An extract of a letter from Whitehaven, June 18, 1776," in John Almon (ed.), *The Remembrancer* (London, 1776), III, 139; as well as in Graves's narrative and the Washington Papers.

[3] The encounter with the *Hope* is covered rather fully from the British side in Graves's narrative. The locality is best indicated in a "Map of Massachusetts Bay" in the Clinton Papers, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor. The map carries the legend "Shifting Sands" at the mouth of the North River. There are also accounts of the action in the Boston *Gazette*, February 5, 12, 1776.

[4] The captain's log of H. M. S. *Fowey* from January 30 to February 3; the Boston *Gazette*, February 27 and March 11, 1776; and the Salem Committee of Safety to the Massachusetts Council, February 19, 1776, supply most of the information about the *Rainbow* and the *Henry and Esther*.

[5] John Glover's "Colony Ledger," William Bartlett's accounts, and the numerous bills and receipts in "Prizes and Captures" afford the picture of outfitting the *Lynch*.

Chapter XIII

[1] Manley's visit to headquarters at this time is inferential. He was at sea thereafter until after Washington had gone to New York, so he could only have discussed the two vessels with the Commander in Chief on a visit in early February. Washington's comment to Ward on May 9, 1776, "I was taught to believe very Differently of the Ship Jenny by Commodore Manly," would indicate a conversation between them after the promise in a letter of January 28, 1776, and before the *Hancock* sailed from Scituate after refitting.

[2] The delays, procrastinations and alterations in the Massachusetts act to set up admiralty courts is detailed in the Journals of the General Court for the period involved, in the Massachusetts Archives, State House, Boston.

[3] The surmise in Greenwood, *Captain John Manley*, 39, that the *Harrison* was decommissioned because of failure to support Manley in his encounter of January 25 with an enemy tender is without foundation, as on that day the *Harrison*'s lieutenants had not received their commissions and one of them was in Cambridge.

[4] "William Bartlett Agent for the Armed Vessels Acct. to March 1, 1776 against the United Colonies," "Prizes and Captures."

Chapter XIV

[1] The *Warren* lacked two 4-pounders and six swivels, as well as great quantities of beef, bread, rice and rum, according to William Bartlett's account, subsequent to March 1, 1776, in the Bartlett Papers. Whereabouts of the *Franklin* and the *Lee* are inferential. They definitely were not at Beverly, as is also indicated in the Bartlett Papers.

[2] The captain's log of the *Fowey* from February 22 to March 2, 1776.

[3] The captain's log of the *Renown*, along with Admiral Shuldham's "Disposition of His Majesty's Ships and Vessels in North America," of March 23, 1776, describe the withdrawal of all ships to Boston. The *Renown* was the station ship in Boston harbor and its log provides much information for the ensuing two months.

[4] Sarah Sever describes the panic in Plymouth in a letter of March 23, 1776, printed in the *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, Second Series (Boston, 1886), II, 158.

[5] Master's Log of H. M. S. *Milford*, April 2, 1776, British Admiralty, Class 52, 1865.

Chapter XV

[1] The Journal of the Massachusetts Council for March 14, and 20, 1776, gives the numerous revisions to the act and the order to postpone admiralty court trials.

[2] The condemnation decrees by Timothy Pickering at Ipswich are in the Bartlett Papers. Those at Plymouth are mentioned in a letter from William Watson to Stephen Moylan, in the Washington Papers.

[3] The Journals of the Continental Congress for April 2, 3, 12 and 30, 1776, attest to the procrastination.

[4] One of the recent biographers to fall into the error was Herbert S. Allen, *John Hancock, Patriot in Purple* (New York, 1947), 217, 416.

Chapter XVI

[1] When Manley left the *Hancock* in April, 1776, there was due to the crew £165.14.8 in back wages, which were not paid until June, 1776. Greater amounts, of £249.1.8 and £210, were due respectively to the crews of the *Lynch* and the *Franklin*, Bartlett Papers. The six officers to resign after Manley quit were Nicholas Ogelbie of the *Hancock*, Edward Fettyplace, Jr., and Francis Salter of the *Franklin*, William Ryan of the *Warren*, John Gill of the *Lee*, and John Tiley of the *Lynch*.

[2] Libels against the brigs *Jane* and *William* were published in the Boston *Gazette*, May 20, 1776, and accounts of the exploit were published in the *Connecticut Courant*, Hartford, May 13, 1776, and the *Public Advertiser*, London, July 3, 1776.

[3] Letters and newspaper accounts describing the capture of the *Hope* are more numerous than for any other exploit of Washington's navy. Among them are a petition from the crew of the *Franklin* to Congress, March 12, 1784, in the Papers of the Continental Congress, 42, vi, 93; and D. Ingraham, Jr., to Samuel P. Savage, May 18, 1776, in *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* (Boston, 1911), XLIV, 689.

[4] The captain's logs of the *Renown* and the *Experiment*, British Admiralty, Class 51, No. 333; the Boston *Gazette*, May 20, 1776, and *Connecticut Courant*, May 27, 1776; the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 29, 1776; and a broadside printed in Salem in July, 1776, are the principal sources for the story of Mugford's defense of the *Franklin*. The body of Lieutenant Harris of the *Renown* was found on Deer Island by an army fifer on June 29, 1776, his silver-hilted sword still buckled to his side.

[5] John Bradford to Robert Morris, May 30, 1776, Morris Papers, Accession 1805, Library of Congress. Bradford named her the *Dispatch*, and sent her to France on a mission for the Secret Committee of Congress.

[6] The Journals of the Continental Congress for April 23, May 16, 23, 30, 31, and June 1, 3, 4 and 5, 1776, tell the story of the procrastination.

Chapter XVII

[1] An advertisement for deserters in the *New England Chronicle*, June 6, 1776.

[2] "Extract of a letter from Hamilton Maxwell," *circa* June, 1776, *Public Advertiser*, London, September 23, 1776. Maxwell's sister was the wife of Lord George Gordon (1751-1793).

[3] An "Inventory of a Prize Ship ye Anne—Boston June 1776" is in the Washington Papers.

[4] Skimmer's character is extolled by John Bradford in letters to Hancock and to the Marine Committee, November 14 and December 18, 1777, Bradford Letter Book.

[5] "Extract of a letter from Captain Yoward of the Mermaid transport, June 24, 1776," *The Remembrancer*, III, 231, and Edinburgh dispatches in the *Public Advertiser*, London, August 20 and 27, 1776.

[6] "Extract of a Letter from an Officer in the Colony Train at Nantasket to his Friend in Boston, June 17, 1776," *Connecticut Courant*, June 24, 1776, and the captains' logs of the *Renown* and the *Milford* and master's log of the *Hope*.

[7] The principal sources for the story of the capture of the *George*, the *Annabella* and the *Lord Howe* are Archibald Campbell's report to Howe, June 19, 1776, printed in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*, July 4, 1776; "A Journal of our Intended Voige By Gods grace in the good Ship George Transport Archibald Bog Master," June 16, 1776, British Admiralty, High Court of, Class 30, 715, No. 20; letters from Seth Harding and Samuel Smedley of the Connecticut brig *Defence* in the Connecticut Historical Society; and the diary of Ezekiel Price, June 17, 1776.

Chapter XVIII

[1] Journal of Congress, June 13 and 17, 1776, and "Report of the Commee on Genl Washington's letter of the 25 & 26 April, &c.," Papers of the Continental Congress, 19, VI, 201-204.

[2] Inventories of the cargoes of the *Anne*, the *Annabella*, the *George* and the *Lord Howe* are in the Washington Papers.

[3] The disputes and troubles over the arms from the transports are described chiefly in the letters to Washington and in John Bradford's Letter Book. Major Frazer came from St. John's Parish, King William County, Virginia. He later sailed to France with John Paul Jones as a volunteer on board the *Ranger*, where he acquired the reputation of a toper. Bradford's commission as Continental agent appeared in the *New England Chronicle*, August 8, 1776.

[4] "Account Sales Brigne. Nancy with her cargo . . . May 1777" is in the Bartlett Papers.

Chapter XIX

[1] Of the eight prizes sent in by Washington's schooners through the balance of the year, half were plying the Great Circle route, and the other half were sailing between New York and Halifax. There is no evidence to support the claim made by his biographer that Tucker was commissioned commodore to succeed Manley.

[2] An "Invoice of goods taken on board ye Prize Ship Peggy—Boston July 1776," is in the Washington Papers, as are an "Inventory of effect shipped [by John Semple] on board the Peggy, June 29, 1776," and "Inventory of Merchandize, Household Stuff & Sundry Stores the Property of Benjamin Davis shipt by him on board the Peggy," June 29, 1776.

[3] The British version of this encounter is contained in a letter from Captain Morgan of the *Unity* transport, in the *Public Advertiser*, London, August 30, 1776. One of the American accounts is in the *New England Chronicle*, August 2, 1776.

[4] The name *Nelly Frigate* means she was a frigate-built ship, a common term in those days.

[5] The capture of the *Warren* is related in the captain's log, H. M. S. *Liverpool*, British Admiralty, Class 51, 548; in the Washington Papers; and in the Bradford Letter Book.

[6] Ayres's story was printed in the Boston *Independent Chronicle*, October 10, 1776, and confirmed in Edward H. Tatum (ed.), *The American Journal of Ambrose Serle* (San Marino, Calif., 1940), 127, 128. Bradford's appeal about the *Peggy*, October 21, 1776, is in his letter book.

Chapter XX

[1] Washington wrote to Congress about Martindale and Turner on September 7, 1776. The account of their escape from Halifax appeared in the *Connecticut Courant*, September 16, 1776.

[2] The letter to Wentworth was written at Washington's direction by one of his aides, Robert Hanson Harrison, on September 10, 1776.

[3] The Journals of the Continental Congress for September 12, 13, 14, 20 and October 5, 11 and 16, 1776, cover the settlement with Martindale and the settlement directed for the *Elizabeth*.

[4] Marine Committee to agents for Prizes in Massachusetts and New Hampshire, October 18, 1776, Marine Committee Letter Book, 37, Library of Congress.

[5] Bradford's appraisal of Washington's captains is contained in numerous letters in his letter book. For the culmination of Skimmer's career, see William Bell Clark, "The Continental Brigantine *General Gates*," *The American Neptune* (Salem, 1950), X, 280-84. Burke's subsequent achievements were to be captured in the brig *Resistance* in August, 1778, to lose his ship in the Penobscot expedition, and to run the ship *Henry* ashore in a storm in December, 1779.

Chapter XXI

[1] Bradford's worries about the sales are in his letter book, and the viewpoint of the agents for the Secret Committee is voiced in Abraham Livingston to Robert Morris, January 23, 1777, in the Robert Morris Papers.

[2] The disastrous voyage of the *Lynch* to France is disclosed in such letters as Jonathan Williams, Jr., to the American Commissioners, April 2, 1777, Franklin Papers, XXXVII, 79, American Philosophical Society; Silas Deane to Count de Vergennes, April 5, 1777, Arthur Lee Papers, Harvard University Library; American Commissioners to Capt. John Adams, undated, Franklin Papers, 2147, Library of Congress; and John Porter to Benjamin Franklin, June 6, 1777, Franklin Papers, VI, 50, American Philosophical Society.

Chapter XXII

[1] Commissioning of Waters and Tucker is contained in the Journal of Congress, March 15, 1777, and the Marine Committee to the Navy Board Eastern Department, May 9, 1778, Marine Committee Letter Book, 148.

[2] Marine Committee to Prize Agents for Washington's fleet, March 21, 1777, and *idem* to Prize Commissioners, March 21, 1777, Marine Committee Letter Book, 61, 62.

[3] Bradford's petition of March 10, 1777, is in Massachusetts Archives, 166, 327, and Skimmer's commission is in *ibid.*, VI, 216.

[4] Archibald Campbell to the Massachusetts Council, April 2, 1777, Massachusetts Archives, 196, 358.

[5] "Letter from Lieut. Colo. Archibald Campbell To the Members of the Provincial Council of Boston on his taking farewell of them when Exchanged & Relieved from Prison, Dated from Concord, 9 April [1778],"

Inverneill MS, part III, No. 12, *Genealogy of the Campbells of Craignish and of Inverneill,* written by Commissary Duncan Campbell. The manuscript survives only in a copy made by Sir James Campbell; courtesy of Colin Campbell of New York.

Chapter XXIII

[1] The Bradford Letter Book contains the agent's excuses and explanations in letters to Hancock, Morris and the Marine Committee, during April and May, 1777.

[2] The *Success* was run ashore on Cape Henlopen on April 11, 1777, by British frigates, and Captain James Anderson lost his life in blowing up his ship. The *Success* had been renamed the *Morris,* Henry Fisher to Pennsylvania Navy Board, April 12, 1777, Papers of the Continental Congress, 78, IX, 79.

[3] The American prize crew was listed in the muster roll of H. M. S. *Mermaid,* May 23, 1777, British Admiralty, Class 36, 7761.

[4] Condemnation proceedings against the schooner *Hawke* and sloop *Betsey,* May 29 and June 24, 1777, are in the Massachusetts Archives, 159, 104-11.

[5] Addiscott and his prize crew were listed in the muster roll of H. M. S. *Diamond,* September 22, 1777, British Admiralty, Class 36, 7836. Their fate was contained in an "Account of treatment that Continental Officer . . . met with in Halifax," *Independent Chronicle,* February 5, 1778.

[6] Libels against the *Industrious Bee* and the *Dolphin* were published in the *Independent Chronicle,* October 9 and November 6, 1777, respectively.

Chapter XXIV

[1] "United States of America in acct with William Bartlett, May 1777," Bartlett Papers.

[2] John Hancock to Isaac Smith, *et al.,* October 25, 1777, Hancock Letter Book, National Archives.

[3] William Bell Clark, "The Continental Brigantine *General Gates,*" *loc. cit.,* 280-84.

[4] Diary kept in the Office of Finance, May 7, 1782, II, 354, National Archives. Advertisement of trial of ship *Peggy* in Court of Appeals, *Pennsylvania Packet,* June 19, 1783. Bradford's numerous letters about the *Peggy* are in his letter book.

[5] Robert Morris to John Bradford, May 7, 1782, Morris Letter Book C, 266, 267, National Archives.

[6] Joseph Pennell to Robert Morris, January 20, 1784, Papers of the Continental Congress, 137, III, 443.

[7] "Petition of Officers and Mariners of the armed Schooner Franklin," Papers of the Continental Congress, 42, VI, 93, and Report of Agent of Marine, April 23, 1784, with endorsements, May 3, 1784, *ibid.*, 541; Congressional committee report, May 17, 1784, *ibid.*, 23, 199.

[8] This includes three Scotch transports in whose capture Seth Harding, of the Connecticut brig *Defense*, played a part.

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